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MEMOIRS

OF

THE PRINCESS PALATINE

PRINCESS OF BOHEMIA;

INCLUDING HER

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GREAT MEN OF HER DAY,

AND MEMOIRS OF THE

COURT OF HOLLAND UNDER THE PRINCES OF ORANGE.

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BY

THE BARONESS BLAZE DE BURY.

"Cette illustre princesse, par bien des côtés, avait du caractère de son aïeul, Guillaume le Taciturne."—SORBIERE, *Voyage en Hollande.*

"The race of Nassau,
The world's great patriots."

ADDISON.

Yyc 2

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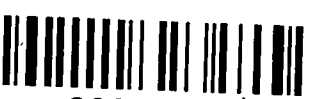

PREFACE.

Among the various events of the great struggle which raged so furiously in Holland and Germany during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, none have a greater interest than the unhappily-renowned war in the Palatinate, as connected with the fortunes of its ruling family; a line not only allied to our own Sovereigns by blood, but deriving a peculiar interest from being one of the most constant supports of the Protestant cause.

One of its members, the Princess Palatine, forms the subject of the following work; and for many reasons is she well worthy of attention. Her noble descent—the blood of the Nassau and Stuart races—might alone render her illustrious; her learning and high intelligence in an age when learning and research were unknown to the fair sex, and to be met with only

among bearded professors, would equally make her name celebrated; but the high esteem in which, both for virtue and genius, she was held by such men as Descartes, Leibnitz, and Malebranche, as well as a host of minor literati, must for ever render her an object of admiration in all lands.

In another point of view the Princess Palatine deserves peculiar notice—namely, for the remarkable degree in which her vigorous mind guided and trained the younger scions of her family—those who in after-years ascended thrones, and whose descendants at the present moment rule the destinies of Europe. How far this was the case will be seen in the following pages; but no fitter place can be found for briefly pointing out the existing personages in the Royal Houses of Europe who have two such remarkable characters as William of Orange and Mary Stuart for progenitors, and the Princess Palatine for ancestress.

The sister of the Princess Palatine, Sophia, was married to Count Augustus, Elector of Hanover: her daughter, Sophia Charlotte, was married to William, first King of Prussia, and thus descends the HOUSE OF BRANDENBURG.

From William of Orange, the Great Stadtholder, descended

our William III, married to King James II's daughter, Mary, and also the present reigning KING OF HOLLAND, a daughter of whom (by Paulowna, daughter of Alexander, Emperor of Russia) is married to the GRAND DUKE OF SAXE-WEIMAR.

A granddaughter of the Elector Frederick V, and Elizabeth Stuart, Elizabeth Charlotte of Hesse Cassel, was married to Philip, Duke of Orleans, from whom descended Philip of Orleans (the Regent); Philip Egalité; the late King of the French, Louis Philippe; and the present representatives of the HOUSE OF ORLEANS.

The filiation of the House of Brunswick from Sophia, the sister of the Princess Palatine, and the Elector of Hanover before-mentioned, from whom sprang George I, and his descendants, the ROYAL FAMILY OF ENGLAND, completes this record of the descendants on one side of Mary Stuart and of William of Orange on the other.

NOV. 25TH, 1853

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THE

PRINCESS PALATINE.

CHAPTER I.

WHAT HOLLAND WAS IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES—THE PALATINE FAMILY—WILLIAM "THE TACITURN"—LITTLE KNOWN OF HIS PRIVATE LIFE—HIS MARRIAGES—HIS SON, MAURICE—HIS SEPARATION FROM ANNE OF SAXONY—LETTER OF THIS PRINCESS—HER HYPOCRISY—HER LETTER TO HER LOVER—LETTER FROM THE LATTER'S WIFE—ANNE OF SAXONY'S "JEALOUS RAGE"—HER LETTER TO COUNT JOHN OF NASSAU—HER CUNNING—THE LANDGRAF OF HESSE—HIS INDIGNATION—HIS LETTER—THE "RUNAWAY NUN"—"OUT OF THE FRYINGPAN INTO THE FIRE"—THE ENMITY OF FRANCE—THE SUBLIMATE OF ARSENIC.

DURING the religious differences and wars of the seventeenth century, and commencement of the eighteenth, Holland held a somewhat analogous position to that occupied within the last few years by our own country; it was the refuge and asylum of every individual of whatsoever rank, whose opinions rendered a sojourn in his native

land unsafe. Princes, philosophers, politicians and poets, all escaped to the Dutch provinces, sure of a good reception, and a peaceable existence.

When the Elector Palatine, Frederick V, had lost his Bohemian Crown by the defeat of his troops at Prague, his first stable resting-place was Holland, for amongst his German relations each vied with the other as to who should escape receiving him,* and it was with some difficulty that his wife found a roof under which to await her approaching confinement. It would appear that the King of Bohemia himself was far from appreciating at their real value the sterling qualities of his Republican hosts, whose

* The Duke of Alva had small esteem for the character of German princes generally, and perhaps the excessive distaste evinced by nearly all of them for anything in the shape of a political or personal responsibility might justify him in the following severe judgment: "The German princes are mighty lords, and carry blazoned on their escutcheons a vast lot of mighty animals, lions, eagles, etc. These animals have wondrous teeth and claws, but they neither bite nor scratch." The Spanish duke was not the only person who complained of this want of manly energy in the German princes. Count John of Nassau writes to the Duke of Brunswick, 24th March, 1577: "Their blindness and pusillanimity are a sure proof of God's hand being heavy on them and us." The conduct of George William of Brandenburg refusing the Castle of Custrin to his brother-in-law's wife, the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, is one among a thousand proofs of this pusillanimous spirit.

want of polish outweighed in the mind of the courtly warrior whatever other advantages they might possess. His stay in the States was short; after the death of his eldest son, Henry Frederic, in 1629, the Palatine joined the army of Gustavus Adolphus, whose death, in 1631, was followed almost immediately by his own. Elizabeth of England, however, and her children, continued for the space of twenty years to enjoy the hospitality of her relatives of the House of Orange, and the entire youth of the Princess Palatine was spent in the neighbourhood of her uncle's Court. Her early childhood had been also confided principally to the care of her grandmother, Juliana, the widowed Electress Palatine, eldest daughter of the far-famed William of Orange and of his third wife, Charlotte de Bourbon, so that it is not astonishing if throughout her life, the traces of Dutch influence on character, manners, and pursuits, should have been more visible in Elizabeth than in her other brothers and sisters.

Very little has been written, because very little has comparatively been known, upon the private life of the great hero of the House of Orange, and it is possible our readers may take some interest in the perusal of certain documents which throw a fresh light upon the intimate personal dealings of a prince so closely connected

with the subject of this memoir, and so celebrated in history for his public acts and virtues.

William I, Prince of Orange, "The Taciturn," as he has been universally surnamed, was son of William, Count of Nassau, and Juliana of Stolberg, a woman from whose strong energy of mind and clearness of judgment, was evidently derived much of what was so remarkable in his own nature, and in that, scarcely less so, of his brother, Count John. William married in youth Anne of Egmont, who died, leaving two children, Philip and Mary of Nassau. Shortly after her death he contracted a second marriage with Anne of Saxony, by whom was born to him Maurice, who worthily maintained his father's glorious name upon the exalted level whereto the latter had raised it. Unlike his father, however, in one respect, Maurice was averse from everything in the shape of gallantry; and it is said that for the exiled Elizabeth Stuart only was he ever known to have experienced a sentiment which savoured of genuine admiration.

For his mother-in-law, Louisa de Coligny (the fourth wife of William I), Maurice entertained, it is alleged, a profound respect, but the feeling inspired in him by the fascinating electress-queen appears to have approached nearer to one of a warmer, but at the same time purer

kind, than anything his rude nature was ever destined to acknowledge.

How far his father's separation from his mother,* the latter's guilt, and the shame it drew down upon her, may have influenced the sentiments of Maurice of Nassau towards women generally, might perhaps be not without interest to trace; but it is not at this moment with the son that lies our task, but with the most critical period of the father's private, if not public life, —his repudiation of Anne of Saxony, and marriage with Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

The archives of the House of Orange are full of documents concerning the separation of William and the Princess Anne; and, assuredly, after their examination, no shadow of doubt can exist as to the entire culpability of Anne, or the perfect legality of the union with Charlotte. We subjoin one of the most curious of these documents — namely, the expostulations addressed by the Princess of Orange to her husband, in the earlier stage of the business, when she hoped yet to be able to deceive him as to her guilt. It is dated March 22, 1571, and is as follows :†

* Most historians have been mistaken upon this point; some assigning to William wives he never had; others representing him as obliged to await their death previous to being able to legalize his third marriage.

† The original is in German.

" My Lord,

" I heard last Monday, with great surprise, from Dr. Merlin,* that you had had B.† taken prisoner, and had asked, or caused to be asked, of him, things which menace my honour far too nearly. I do not believe that one limb of my whole body is exempt from a feeling of just indignation at the insult you have thereby offered to me, to yourself, to my entire sex, and to our poor children. If in your heart you will think over the matter, remembering how, for ten years, I have lived with you, and the conduct I have observed, you can do no other than bear witness to my fidelity, truth, and proper behaviour; I should, therefore, have hoped, as you had such strong proofs of my honour and honesty, that you would have denied all credence to any bad suspicions or reports, and that your heart would have given them no access, for you ought certainly to better trust your own heart and your own eyes, than the light and idle inventions of other people. I can only believe that God has withdrawn from you his hand, and blinded you with sin. . . . . As to what Dr. Merlin tells me from you about the prisoner's avowals, I am by all such avowals most

* Dr. Merlin was a Protestant divine.

† The partner in her guilt, who is never mentioned but by this initial letter.

astounded; for it is a false and hideous lie, whether he may have said it or not, and I take God to witness, that I have never broken my bridal oath. However, I can understand, if the prisoner above alluded to has really made such confessions (which I scarcely credit), that they may have been the produce of fear of torture, or of torture itself; for he is sufficiently pusillanimous by nature. If you were in the hands of the Duke of Alva, (which God forbid!) you might, perhaps, avow that white is black; consequently, he is not, perhaps, so much to be blamed for saying that which is against my honour—unjust questions generally obtain lying answers—and so has it happened in this case; but you will have to answer it to God and to all honourable men, that upon bare suspicions you have imprisoned an individual, and cast so gross a slur upon your wife's fair name! Secondly, the before-mentioned doctor tells me you pretend to prove my guilt by letters in your possession; that can you never do; for it will never be found that I ever wrote a letter other than such as a true, honourable woman might write. Thirdly, he avers that witnesses are there,—witnesses selected from out my household, or having formerly belonged to it, and who are ready with their testimony! God in Heaven! what false lies are those which would

effect that of which I never even dreamed! Any one may easily recognize the lie; for, supposing me to have forgotten myself (from which the Almighty has preserved and will preserve me), I fancy I should have called no one by to witness it. How often one is surrounded in one's home, by monsters worse than lions and dragons! I wish I knew the names of such witnesses, for I should well know what to reply to them! And so, too, you let me be counselled by this said doctor, to examine well my conscience, and, should I recognize my guilt, to avow it in time, so that means may be devised of keeping it secret, and preventing our children, when they come hither, from being despised on account of their mother's crime!

"I have examined my conscience, and find myself innocent of all the dishonour whereof you accuse me, and justly will no contempt attach to my children through my means. But I now entreat of you that you will descend into your conscience, and will examine it and reflect upon the vast shame you are bringing upon your children and yourself, if you allow all this to go further, and become matter for people's talk! The wisest course would be that you should let drop reports you have so lightly listened to and credited, and not permit them to circulate any further, to your own shame, and to the delight of your enemies;

and, moreover, to the fearfully heavy charge upon your conscience; for the wrong you are doing me, is no small a load, believe me. I do not speak thus (as you may, perhaps, imagine), from fear of being proved guilty of what you have advanced. God is my witness that I act not from any such motive, seeing I know my own conscience so entirely; but solely to spare you from shame, inasmuch as, however clearly I may prove my purity and freedom from reproach, still all my life will a doubt fasten to my honour, one believing me innocent, another the reverse. If my advice does not persuade you, I am, nevertheless, quite ready to meet you on other ground, and defend my innocence to the last breath of my life, not only before my relatives, but before even the Courts of the realm ("Kirch's Kammergericht,") in order that each one may be enabled to judge of my purity, and the injury you have done me. You sent three women to me here, with orders that no knife should be left within my reach! This was unnecessary; and you needed not to fear lest I should do myself a harm. Although the cross wherewith you have laden me, is the most crushing load I could be called upon to bear, yet am I consoled, for I trust in God my Lord, and in my right, and am confident I shall be saved, even as was Susanna, and as was also

Daniel. To say all this was the reason of my wishing to speak with you, and herewith I recommend you to our Lord God, to whom I pray, with all my heart, that he may give you grace to perceive what it would be most seemly and most honourable that you should do.

"Your most unfortunate,

"ANNE OF SAXONY."*

In the face of this startling piece of hypocrisy and boldness at once we will place a few lines written by the same princess to her accomplice but three days later, March 25th, containing the most full and complete contradiction of all that has just been read:

"I have received your letter with joy," writes she, "for it teaches me that the Lord has been pleased to give you the grace to avoid the great and heavy sin that we two have committed, and likewise that you comfort yourself with His Word, and give up to Him all care of you for life or death. It was no slight torment to me to think that, perhaps, for my sake, you would refuse to make this avowal, and that I should

* "Archives of the House of Orange," collected by order of the king. The documents are principally in French, German, and Dutch; some few are in English, and several, most important ones, in Spanish.

thereby, in fact, be the cause of your damnation in body and soul, but now, as I perceive, the Lord has mercifully delivered me from this anxiety. In regard to myself, I have this day also confessed my crime before God, and before all men, and doubt not but the Lord who is so compassionate will forgive me. I acknowledge so entirely my guilt towards my husband, that I have caused my most humble pardon to be asked of him; and hope that, with his habitual goodness, he will be merciful and not just, as hitherto he has shown himself both towards you and me; for if he had acted with more justice, he would have allowed neither of us to be so well treated as we have been, and therefore I trust the Almighty will so inspire him, that he shall show yet more pity and spare your life, which I wish with all my heart, in order that you may be once more united to your wife and children. I feel myself very ill at ease, for having so ill rewarded your wife for all her services; and for yourself, I commend you to the Divine mercy and protection, and implore God's grace to comfort and console you, and preserve us from sin such as we have committed.

"ANNE OF SAXONY."

From many passages relating to this mysterious partner in his sovereign's guilt, we are led

to believe that he occupied a subordinate position about the Court, for in his several applications to Count John of Nassau, who appears to have charged himself with all the details of this shocking event, we constantly find a repetition of phrases such as this: "I have, alas! no means of obtaining favours from the great ones of the world;" and there is in the expressions even of his repentance something which indicates a marked inferiority of social standing. The wife to whom Anne of Saxony alludes, was probably as amiable as she was ill-used; for there is a manuscript letter to her husband upon this occasion, in which, after assuring him, over and over, of her forgiveness, and even of the concern she feels for the misery his evil doings have entailed upon him, she adds, in the meekest tone:* "for my entire forgiveness and forgetting of the past, I make but the one condition, that you shall be pleased to bear with my affection for you—if I dared, I would never ask anything further from you than your affection in return—if I possessed your love, all the rest would be nothing, or follow in its right time."

It might be somewhat curious to discover what species of attraction Anne of Saxony had exercised over her lover, for his attachment to

* The original is in Dutch.

her seems to have been mixed up with a singularly clear perception of her faults: speaking of the character of this misguided princess, he, in a letter to Count John, observes, that "small attention should be paid to whatever she may say in her anger and jealous rage. Your Lordship, and my lord the Prince," adds he, "being witnesses to the way in which, upon this point, she forgets herself, and often flies into the wildest transports."

The last attempt of William's faithless spouse to obtain from him an indulgence she so little merited, is contained in a letter, written by her on the 13th of May of the same year, to her mother-in-law the Countess John. It is curious, inasmuch as it shows considerable cunning on her part, and touches upon one of the clauses—namely, the promise of secrecy—that was later put forward by the Count of Saxony, as forming an obstacle to the marriage of the Prince of Orange with Mademoiselle de Bourbon. About two months after the letters we have just read, the Princess Anne writes thus:

"High-born and Dear Mother,

"I cannot refrain from reminding your Grace of my concerns, and wish ardently to know what resolution has been taken, in all that regards me. I live here in tortures worse than infernal, and

only want to know what has been decided upon, in order that I may conform my conduct thereto, and be enabled to judge whether less pity is my lot in the next world or in this, and whether mercy is to be found in neither God nor man. Your Grace tells me in your last letter, that it is for my Lord Husband and my friends to decide in this matter: I will hope it is for my Lord Husband, and noways for my friends; I can suppose, for instance, that the Landgraf* would take all this much amiss, moreover too, as I discarded the advice of his father, my dear sainted grandsire, in contracting my marriage. As to what regards the Elector,† if he be informed of the history, I am lost. I ask for no other boon —I have no claim to any in this world, and hope soon to be in the next. I ask for no boon save one, and for that I pray with all my power and might—namely, that nothing of all this may be brought to the Elector's ears, and that my honour and reputation may be spared. Is this agreed to? It is high time to act upon it, for reports get abroad, and evil tongues are busy. I would fain, at the last judgment, not be driven to depose before God's tribunal, that my union with the Prince of Orange had cost me everything; the goods of the earth, honour, body and

* Of Hesse, her uncle. † Of Saxony, her uncle.

soul; yet so will it be, if what I beg for be not granted. I wished of your Grace to take all this matter under your especial care; for I have trusted you cordially, and do so still; and have truly and sincerely confessed all to you, which I had no need to do, for, as on the one hand, the witnesses might have been easily bribed, so, on the other, it stood perfectly in my power to prove that none of their depositions were receivable in justice; but I chose rather to confess my sin, hoping that my Lord Husband, when he should hear how, out of my simplicity of heart, and without any guile, I had voluntarily avowed everything, would be touched and moved to mercy. I still hope he will be so, and trust in your Grace for lending thereto a helping hand. I hope my Lord Husband, and also your Grace, will reflect, that we are all of us but weak human creatures, and that such things might have befallen you, or might still befall. Herewith I commend your Grace to the Almighty protection, and implore your Grace to answer me, for I am half dead with expectation.

"Your Grace's loving sister,

"ANNE (born Princess of Saxony),

"Princess of Orange."

Rightly enough did this frail lady premise, that whatever her conduct, no avowal of the

true motives of her repudiation by her husband, could be made without occasioning considerable embarrassment to the latter. Four years later, when the Prince of Orange has resolved to take Charlotte de Bourbon to wife, and when, for that purpose, it becomes indispensable to legalize the separation from Anne of Saxony, we find the same Landgraf of Hesse, to whom this princess alludes in her last letter, giving way to such indignation on the subject, that his communications to Count John lose all character of princely reserve, and have a tone of violence quite extraordinary.

"I have received yours of the 28th May [1575,]" writes he, "announcing the arrival of the Lady of Bourbon upon the banks of the Rhine; from the excuses wherewith you accompany the news, I am easily persuaded that neither you, nor any one else in their senses, can have counselled such a proceeding." And following this, at the distance of a few days, the ensuing epistle: "None of us can imagine what could possibly induce the prince, and that booby St. Aldegonde, and whoever else meddled in it, to enter into such a business. If you consider the religious side of the question, why she is a Frenchwoman, a nun, and a runaway nun to boot! You can fancy all that is said thereupon! and how it is surmised that the prince,

changing his old wife for this new one, will be merely going out of the frying-pan into the fire. If personal attractions be thought of, I'll answer for a bitter disappointment, and will venture to say that when he sees her, he will be frightened rather than pleased. Is the idea of perpetuating his race an argument? Surely he has got heirs and heiresses enough already! and if he was not mad, he ought to wish to be free of wife and children* altogether! If he dreams of alliances, he is in the wrong there; for to judge from the threats of her own father against this new bride, he will get small thanks from him or his relations; and probably the open affront put upon the King of France, of whose blood she is, will drive the latter to revenge it on your brother and his country with fire and sword. For all these reasons, it is quite impossible for us to conceive what can push him into this mess, and induce him to enrage so many of his friends, whose friendship has been until now of no small benefit to him. Who knows what league may be entered into, what plans concocted against Holland and Zealand? and under pretence of protection, what subjection may be contemplated, what foreign

* He had already, by Anne of Egmont, Philip count of Bergen, brought up (by force) in Spain, and Marie countess of Nassau; and by Anne of Saxony, his successor, Maurice, besides two daughters, Anne and Emily.

dominion assured? You will do well to look to it all of you, that this wedding do not turn out like that of the admiral* in Paris; for such sort of offences are rarely forgiven by great potentates *sine mercurio et arsenico sublimato.*

* Coligny.

CHAPTER II.

LEGALITY OF THE MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE WITH CHARLOTTE DE BOURBON—ENEMIES IT CREATED FOR HIM—THE "RUNAWAY NUN"—THE COURT OF THE ELECTOR PALATINE FREDERICK "THE PIOUS"—INSTRUCTIONS TO COUNT HOHENLOO—"JE PASSERAY OULTRE"—WILLIAM'S LETTER TO THE ELECTOR OF SAXONY—LETTER TO HIS BROTHER, COUNT JOHN—THE VOCATION FOR "SINGLE-BLESSEDNESS"—CHARLOTTE DE BOURBON TO HER HUSBAND—THE COUNTESS DOWAGER OF NASSAU, JULIANA QUEEN ELIZABETH'S PRESENT—THE LITTLE JULIANA, WILLIAM'S DAUGHTER—EFFECT OF CHARLOTTE'S DEATH ON WILLIAM—HIS LETTER TO THE PRINCE DE CONDE—MARRIAGE WITH MADAME DE COLIGNY—ANNOUNCEMENT OF IT BY MAURICE—HOW CHARLOTTE DIED—CHARLOTTE'S LAST LETTER AND LOUISE DE COLIGNY'S FIRST—THE PRINCE'S WOUND.

THERE can be no doubt that, disapproved of or approved, and in whatever way regarded, the marriage of William of Orange with Charlotte de Bourbon was among the most critical events of his whole life. That it was strictly legal and legitimate, according to the tenets of the Reformed Church, is beyond all discussion;

and the written opinions upon this point of nearly all the famous judicial authorities in Europe, all concurring in this view of the case, would occupy many voluminous "in-folios!" But that it was impolitic there were few of those, even most nearly attached to the prince, who did not feel. By this union William secured to himself unalloyed domestic happiness, cut short only by the death of his devoted wife at the end of seven years; but he also, there can be no question, embroiled himself in a series of quarrels and difficulties of which he might never have heard if he had remained unmarried. In France, his enemies were numerous, though his policy lay all along in a project of strict alliance with that country; and in Germany the consequences of his marriage were undeniably prejudicial, in the highest degree, to the religious cause of which he professed himself the champion. Whether the German princes were, or were not, justified in their view of his conduct, and in the harshness wherewith they visited it upon him, is not here the point under examination: the fact was such; and, right or wrong, William of Orange, in his own person and in that of his successors and relatives, as well as in his cause, was made to pay dearly and in many ways, for his deter-

mination to espouse the princess whom Wilhelm of Hesse calls "a runaway nun."

As, without this union with Mademoiselle de Montpensier, the subject of these memoirs would never have been born, we, as the historians of the Princess Palatine, cannot but feel considerably interested in all that appertains to that event, especially as the course of our researches respecting it leads us to a more intimate acquaintance with some of the most celebrated and least minutely studied characters of that period of history which ushers in the Thirty Years' War: but, at the same time, it must be admitted, that the Landgraf's words are not entirely devoid of truth, and the epithet of "runaway nun" may, with some justice, attach to Charlotte de Bourbon. Brought up by her mother in the Protestant faith, Charlotte was, by her father's orders, confined in the convent of Jouarre. Some historians say, the Duc de Montpensier did this out of spite to his wife, who had contrived to marry their eldest daughter to the Protestant Duc de Sédan (Bouillon). Be this as it may, Charlotte was destined to become Abbess of Jouarre, and for many years inhabited that community, though losing no opportunity of protesting against her forced confinement. At length, in 1572, the nunnery was taken by the Huguenots, and the Princess

de Montpensier escaping, fled first to her sister at Sédan and later to Heidelberg, where the Elector, Frederick the Pious, as he was termed, took her under his especial protection.

There she lived constantly in a circle where William of Orange was held nearly in idolatry, and where his name was synonymous with all that was greatest and most glorious. What wonder that her enthusiasm took fire, and that, when told the Prince of Orange was free, she should have eagerly accepted the offer of his hand! Whatever attempt might have been made at concealing the conduct of Anne of Saxony from certain German Courts, it was not in the midst of the Prince's own near relations that such concealment could be practised; consequently, at Heidelberg, the possibility of William's forming new conjugal ties was a subject often broached, and never without leaving its trace upon the heart of Charlotte de Montpensier. But the execution of the project was not so easy, and when William himself had brought to bear upon it all the concentrated energy of his strong will, it was only to be accomplished, as we have before stated, at a cost so heavy, that perhaps it ought not, in strict prudence, to have been incurred.

By the letters contained in the following pages, it will be seen that the misfortunes of the Pala-

tine family dated, more than hasbeen generally supposed, from the offence given to the more powerful of the German princes by the Elector, Frederick III, and the support he lent to the marriage of his French protégée with the Prince of Orange; and if, later, we find their mutual grandson, the King of Bohemia, vainly seeking aid and assistance on all hands, and meeting only with the coldest indifference when with the rapacious desire to become possessed of his inheritance, we are led to recognize that this uncharitableness is a sort of hereditary feeling, and that its first cause lies in the mortal wound dealt to so many illustrious houses by the public disgrace of Anne of Saxony.

When William "the Taciturn," in spite of all the objections made to him, had resolved upon demanding the hand of the French princess, he drew up with his own hand a paper, which he gave to Count Hohenloo, and which contained the instructions for the mission he confided to that nobleman. This document, written in French, is sufficiently curious to induce us to translate the principal passages of it. It is entitled:

"A Memoir for the use of Count Hohenloo, who is deputed by the Prince of Orange to Count John of Nassau, to the Elector Palatine and his spouse, and to Mademoiselle de Bourbon;"

And it runs thus:

"Firstly, he [Count H.] shall communicate amply to my brother the letters I have received from M. Zuléger,* and shall declare my intention of going on with the matter, for which reason I have begged him [Count H.] to confer with Mademoiselle upon all that is necessary for the accomplishment of what is decided upon.

"Afterwards my brother shall advise with Count H. how Mademoiselle shall be brought hither—whether by Embden, or straight down the river Rhine. I should prefer the latter plan, as shortest and least expensive, and for many other causes more commodious. Count H. shall, therefore, agree with my said brother upon the means of descending the river without danger.

"All this settled, my aforesaid brother shall go his way to Heidelberg, where, having delivered my letters to my Lord the Elector, and to my Lady his wife, he shall offer them my humble

* Zuléger was a lawyer, whom the prince had sent to obtain Charlotte's official consent, and to negotiate with the Court of France, and whose letters contained the answers he obtained to his several demands; amongst others, the following from Henry III: "The king will noways compromise himself in all this, as it is against his religion, but he thinks Mademoiselle would be very lucky to get so fine an establishment; and, all things considered, the French Court would not openly object to whatever Mademoiselle should do by advice of the Elector Palatine," &c.

compliments; shall inform them of his mission; and shall confer with them touching Zuléger's communications, Mademoiselle's consent, and the best way of putting our plans into execution.

"And, notwithstanding that M. de St. Aldegonde will, I apprehend, already have explained to them the particulars of my position, my brother shall nevertheless reiterate all the details thereof, in order that the Elector and Mademoiselle may deliberate in full knowledge and consciousness of all things, and perceive thereby that my intention is to go straight to the point in all this ('mon intention est d'y marcher rondement,') and avoid all deceptions or mistakes, and all grounds in the future for any dispute or reproach.

"My brother shall, consequently, recall to the memory of all whom it concerns, the state of my affairs with the wife I had before ('la femme que j'ai eue') and shall add the opinions given upon her even by her own relatives, so that there may be no obstacle on that side.

"Further, he shall say that almost all my possessions are settled on my first children, and that, on that account, I have no power to assure any dowry to Mademoiselle, but that my intention is to do my best in that respect according to the means it shall please God to grant me. As

to the house I have built at Middelburg, and the one I am building at Gertruidenburg, though it is nothing to be spoken of, yet, if she will accept the gift as a beginning and testimony of good will, there will lie no difficulty therein.

"Moreover, that we are at war, without any knowledge of the probable termination of that same; and that I am deeply indebted for that reason to many princes, lords, captains, and military adventurers.

"That I am beginning to grow old, seeing that I am somewhere about ('environ') my forty-second year (! !)*

"These several details declared, my said brother shall pray my lord the Elector and my lady from me, that, according to the friendship with which they have always honoured me, and the paternal love they have shown to Mademoiselle, together with the knowledge they have of both her character and mine, they will be pleased to say whether they know of any reason why she or I should not proceed with this matter, and carry it through to the end. Being, as I trust, assured that—all the above-mentioned circumstances well thought over and weighed—she [Mademoiselle] will, with the

* This "environ" is no small subterfuge on the part of the grave prince, if we consider that the very next day was that on which he completed his forty-second year!

consent of the Palatine family, feel disposed to crown the work already begun, my brother shall give her my promise, and take hers for me, and by mutual deliberation they shall devise the journey which is to bring about the consummation, to the glory of the Lord, of that of which this present is the commencement.'

"WILLIAM OF NASSAU.

"Dordrecht, 24 April, 1575."

However William might count upon his brother for negociating the preliminaries of his marriage, he found the latter constantly endeavouring to obtain a delay for the arrival of the Princess of Bourbon in Holland, until affairs were more satisfactorily settled with the houses of Saxony and Hesse. The relations of Anne had not only passed the most uncompromising censure upon her conduct, but had earnestly recommended her being imprisoned after the severest fashion, nay, "closed up between two walls,"* but this, upon the express condition that the whole affair should remain concealed. Now, the legality of any subsequent marriage

* The Elector writes to M. de Sainte Aldegonde (May, 1575): "As to the advice of the Landgraf, to shut up between walls the person you know of, and then spread the report of her death, I do not find it bad, for the reasons you mention; but I should not think Dittenburg a proper place,

depending upon the corresponding legality of the repudiation that should precede it, it became impossible not to publish to the world the shame and disgrace of the some-time Princess of Orange. What hope John of Nassau harboured of ever leading those whom it most wounded to consent to his brother's new marriage, it would be difficult to say, but in his many letters to M. de St. Aldegonde, to the Elector, and to the Prince of Orange himself, he employs every entreaty and every argument to obtain the delay of Mademoiselle de Bourbon's arrival in Holland; but all in vain. William of Orange will not make the concession of a day, to the anger or discontent of his former wife's family, or to the prayers and warnings of his prudent and so dearly loved brother. "Je passeray oultre;" that is the phrase which occurs in every one of his letters; and thereupon he acted, paying as little attention to what was attempted to deter him as though it had been the buzzing of so many insects.

On the 12th of June (1572) the marriage

as it is too much frequented. It would be more seemly that her relatives, as for instance the Duke of Saxony or the Landgraf, should secure her and keep her in some hidden spot—which would be very easy to them—and afterwards the report of her death might be spread, in which there would be no difficulty whatever."

was solemnized at Dordrecht, Charlotte de Bourbon having arrived there the day before.

The only mark of anything like deference shown by William to the opposing Courts is manifested in a letter he addressed a month after his marriage to the Elector of Saxony, in which he expresses a hope that his enemies may not have succeeded in prejudicing "his Electoral Grace" against him.

"I trust," he adds, "that you will, with your usual perspicacity, see the whole in its right light, and recognize in my conduct merely that obedience to the Lord to which we are all held. The married state is instituted by God's command, and as upon all those who happen to have no vocation for a single life, he expressly enjoins the duties of conjugality, We have felt ourself moved by our conscience; and all our cases, occupations, affairs, and annoyances, wherein we are constantly plunged up to the neck, not permitting us longer to exist alone and solitary, we have had recourse to that consolation and help especially ordained for man in the blessed married state."

After this somewhat curious excuse for his behaviour, William not unadroitly attempts a little gentle flattery, and proceeds to assure the Elector of his unlimited respect.

"We held it," says he, "for a high and

marked honour, for a wondrous favour and blessing vouchsafed us by the Almighty, to have been united to so exalted a race of princes; and for that, and for the relationship and friendship of your Electoral Grace, we are heartily ready to evince our profoundly grateful sense during all the days of our life. This, indeed, is one chief cause why we bore, for the four years of widowhood, our misfortune entailed upon us. And we should have persisted longer in that sad condition had it not been for all the reasons addressed above, and for the warnings of our conscience, all which just and reasonable causes ('recht mæszige Ursachen'), have driven us to a change."

The letter concludes with an assurance that the whole business has been managed as well as possible with regard to secrecy (!), with the hope formally expressed that the Elector will not allow any mistaken feeling of indignation (quite uncalled for) to get the better of his cooler judgment, and with renewed protestations of readiness to serve him ("dienstwilligkeit") "all the days of his [William's] life."

There is not much doubt that, when his object had been carried, and when, as far as immediate obstacles went, the Prince of Orange felt he had vanquished by the force of his sole will;—there is not much doubt, we repeat, that he then

began to calculate, or at any rate to perceive, that the victory had been by no means cheaply purchased. The German princes were on the eve of a secession that might easily turn to positive hostility, and every day tended to prove how very uncertain were any hopes that should be built on France. It was in the unavoidable acknowledgement of this emergency that William applied to his late consort's relations, and the preoccupation of his mind must have been considerable upon this occasion; for besides the letter of which we have read a part to the Duke of Saxony, he drew up a long and elaborate document addressed to his brother,* in order to diminish in the latter's opinion the idea of the extreme imprudence of the union with Charlotte de Bourbon.

* That William of Orange was a hero, is one of those convictions sanctioned by history and universal popular sentiment, which it would be idle, even if it were nothing else, to attack; but that he had by his side a man, politically speaking, his superior, is a fact that it might be worth while to examine. For Count John, the prince's admiration, and we may almost say reverence, never ceases under any circumstances; and his confidence is beyond all bounds, both in his brother's head and heart. Every treaty, every negotiation is put into John's hands, and nothing is planned or completed without his active participation. On one occasion, the latter opened a letter addressed to the prince, and immediately begged to be excused therefor, on which William writes to him thus: "No excuses, pray! You are such

It is perfectly evident from the whole tone of this singular paper, that William of Nassau had, in his late marriage, obeyed the dictates of personal inclination more than he was himself aware of; and there pierces in every line the embarrassment of a man who is put upon his defence, and to whom the position is as novel as it is unavoidable. He begins by inquiries touching his brother's health, which had latterly been rather weak, and by a request that he will forward to him certain acts concerning Anne of Saxony's conduct, and consequent repudiation by himself, which acts were to be shown to Charlotte de Bourbon; and then he goes on to broach the real subject of the communication thus:

"I also perceive with much grief that you are in a vast anxiety on the matter of this marriage of mine, and that you think the whole has been done too hastily and unadvisedly on our parts. . . . . Now, in regard to that, Monsieur mon frère, I can affirm that, since God gave me power to reason and discern, I have

a tender brother, such an entire true friend; you have so shared in all my toils, and so helped me everywhere, that our intimacy has grown to a point where I can take nothing wrong from you. I beg you, on the contrary, whenever letters fall into your hands, to open them directly, for I would not be occupied in any single thing whereof you had not a knowledge."

always been resolved never to care for words or threats? in those situations where I could act according to my conscience, and without prejudice to my neighbour. . . . .

"It must be admitted as a fact, that if I had the habit of attending to what people say, to the threats of princes, or to other difficulties that have stood in my way, I never should have embarked in actions so dangerous, so contrary to the will of the king my master in the past, and so opposite even to the advice of many of our relatives and friends."

Here ensues a digression upon the manner in which, having decided that his conscience authorized him to it, he undertook the war against Spain.

"As I speak of the motives that made me agree to the war," he then continues, "so do I speak of those also that led me to this present marriage of mine; and I again say, that it is a step I am authorized to take before God and before all men; nay, more, I have felt myself obliged to it by God's commandments; and as to my fellow men, they can make me no reproach, for all is as clear as the day. For four or five years I waited, after having apprized the family by our brother-in-law, Count Hohenloo, and by yourself; no one stirred hand or foot to help me, or advise me how I should find a

remedy for the evil; therefore, when the opportunity did at length occur of finding it, I certainly thought the best way was to seize it resolutely and promptly, in order to give no time for doors to be opened everywhere to delays and obstacles.

"Believe me, the difficulties you allege have been duly considered, and by no means superficially so, as you seem to infer; and contrary to your opinion, I found reasons more important for pressing the marriage, than were those whereby I should have deferred it. Of this I hope to convince you whenever we have the happiness of meeting; as I also hope that this union will far more contribute to our good, and to that of our cause, than could have done the postponement of it, whereby all our designs might too easily have been ruined.

"I can discover, therefore, when all shall have been well and duly considered, no just cause on which the princes can base the indignation and resentment that you describe to me as so great.

"As to what regards the crime and the criminal, it is useless to pretend that, because of my marriage, the affair will get so much more abroad. Alas! it has already come to such a pass, that the very children prattle of it, and that in France, in Italy, in Spain, and in Eng-

land, as much as here. Perhaps this might have been avoided in the beginning; but it is too late now, and in the past we should seek lessons, but not reproaches.

"And I pray you, if they are still anxious (as I doubt not) that the matter should rest concealed, in what better way could I serve them than in avoiding all delays? It is certain that the longer the concern should have dragged on, the more each one would have opened his mouth to say his jawful about it ('plus l'on aura la bouche ouverte pour endire chacun sa rathelée'), and the more occasion would have been afforded to those who love to blame and calumniate, and who would have thrown ridicule and shame upon the reputations you most wish should be respected. . . . . It is undeniable that many persons pass their commentaries still upon the matter, and will do so for some good while yet; for nothing in this world was ever so well done as to escape the censures of those whose occupation is to find fault: but it is a subject of consolation to those who are thus blamed, that in the end it is discovered how all their actions were dictated by a good conscience, and the whole redounds to their honour and credit, especially if, in their own heart, they feel that they have all along considered the interest and advantage of their neigh-

bours, as truly I can well say I have done in this business. This is what has made me proceed so cavalierly, and dispense with all great solemnities and ceremonies, which I might easily have ordered, if my respect for the persons you allude to in your letter had not withheld me.

" So that, in fact, when they come to consider the whole calmly, they will find themselves forced to be grateful to me for the manner in which I have proceeded, and for having subjected myself to all the sinister suspicions of the ignorant by the rapidity and secrecy of my actions, rather than provoke all kinds of judicial proceedings, debates, and disputes, and, by Heaven knows what public controversies, blazon forth every detail to the world, and stir up the worst scandal that ever was. As to the remaining difficulties of which you speak, namely, the dowry and other charges that may fall upon us, and the children that may hereafter be born, I entreat of you to reflect that no delay—even had it extended, I will not say merely to the next Imperial Diet, but to the term of a century hence—no delay could have been of any use in this respect. The only way was to precipitate this marriage in such a fashion, that all future difficulties should be cut by the roots, and this, I believe I have done, as also by my frank and free declaration of the charges to which my

fortune was subjected in favour of my first offspring. I do consequently hold, that if human prudence and precision can ever remedy grievances of this nature, I have remedied them as much as it was possible, and I hope for the benediction of the Almighty! The absolute alternative being no other than to remain in that perpetual state of widowhood to which, to my infinite regret, I found myself so long condemned. I am firmly convinced you would not have advised me to buy freedom from the other inconveniences at such a price. For as to what you suggest about obtaining by prayer the grace of becoming attached to single blessedness, I will not discuss the point. . . . . I hold that it would have been time lost to request this boon from the Lord, who never promised it to me, but whose will it is that those means shall be resorted to which he has formally enjoined by his word. I, therefore, repeat that the way I have chosen is, I am certain, the surest, not only for me, but for the general cause, which might have fallen into disorder if things had not gone on prosperously ('en cas que les affaires fussent allées aultrement que bien.')"*

* It would really be hard to say what the prince means by this last sentence; for he could scarcely disguise from himself that the greatest chance for things not "going

Count John, who had so warmly opposed his brother's marriage with Mademoiselle de Bourbon, was the first to do justice to her when she had once irrevocably become the prince's wife; and we find him, in a letter to the irascible and much offended William of Hesse, defending his sister-in-law against the various calumnies that were circulated about her in the different German Courts.

"As to the outcry against the prince's present wife, raised at the Diet of Ratisbon," writes he to the Landgraf (November, 1575), "it can only be laid to the account of downright calumny; one must recommend vengeance for it to God the ever-just, and one must wait patiently for the moment when it shall please him, after a long continuance of dark and stormy weather, to allow his sun to shine again, and to deliver the prince, together with us all, from our many crosses and vexations. The persons who come daily from Holland, and above all, those who have been enabled to stay the longest in the neighbourhood of the princess, report of her, thank God, very different things, and pay her a very high tribute of praise. In order that your lordship may learn better to appreciate her

on prospe.c·isly," was for the moment afforded by his marriage.

grace, and may also discover what in some degree, perhaps, will have served as a basis for the calumny in question,* I send you, in original, a letter she wrote some days since to my mother."†

Many are the letters the archives of the House of Orange possess of Charlotte de Montpensier; and there are none which do not bear witness to her purity of mind, her gentleness, and unbounded devotion to her lord. If she speaks of herself, it is only as belonging to him, and inasmuch as her health may influence any steps she conceives right for his sake, or prevent her from meeting him:—"Take care of yourself," she writes to him, on the 4th of September, 1577, he being then in Brussels, "I implore of you to be more solicitous for your health than you have shown yourself within these few days, for on yours depends mine, and after God, you dispose of my happiness, my lord—therefore I pray the Almighty that in the midst of such labours and anxieties as yours he will preserve you through a long and happy life."

* Whatever this particular report might be does not appear, and is nowhere further specified.

† Unfortunately this letter is not amongst those already collected, as it was probably never returned by the Landgraf.

Her letters to William's mother, the Countess Juliana,* are touchingly beautiful from their sweet submissiveness, and the tender filial love they breathe at every line; and the following missive to her husband shows how entirely she forgot the opposition to her marriage made by his brother, Count John, and how readily her heart attached itself to whatever was connected with its one sovereign idol. It is dated Dordrecht, and runs thus :—

"My lord, I received this morning at my awakening your letters of the 3rd of this month (October), and can assure you I was most rejoiced to be assured of your good health, for which I fervently thank God, and pray Him to

* The Countess Juliana is (like the mother of most great men) one of the most remarkable women of her age. She is a genuine though (historically speaking) an obscure heroine. "She lived and died almost unknown," says of her a Dutch historian; "often in the midst of great griefs and trials; but He who distinguishes the pious and humble had made of this princess a heroine of her faith." Her letters are models of what a Christian mother should write, and breathe ever the most elevated sentiments. Most historians of the Palatine family have opined that Louisa-Juliana, Charlotte de Bourbon's eldest daughter (mother of the King of Bohemia) drew her austere greatness of character from the education of her stepmother, Louise de Coligny, but she evidently inherited it from her grandmother.

continue to you the same. To-day, towards one o'clock afternoon, arrived in this town your brother, Monsieur le Comte, which event caused great contentment to all the citizens and people. We were, however, my daughters and I,* far more delighted than all the rest, and we dined together, and heartily drank to your health, with oh! what wishes, my lord, that you had but been present to pledge us! I will do the best I can touching what you desire—but the townspeople here have taken it into their heads already to make him [the Count] their present of a cup or a vase. If all the others do the same, it will be some proof of their goodwill, but I would rather the States had given something handsome, but useful at the same time. Nevertheless, my lord, I did not venture to interfere, thinking that it may, perhaps, be possible to remedy in general whatever may in particular be wanting; and I will see to this the most discreetly that I can. As to the thousand florins, I sent for Jan Back to know if he could furnish them,—and if it should so happen that he can not furnish the whole, I can contribute a part, so that I hope,

* Her own children, mere infants—Louisa Juliana, not two years old, and Elizabeth, born some weeks before (Queen Elizabeth's godchild). But besides these, she had with her, Marie of Nassau (Anne of Egmont's daughter), and Anne, daughter of the Princess of Saxony. The latter died at Dresden two months later, in December, 1577.

with God's help, not to fail in executing your commands—as I also hope with the same aid that we—my daughters and I—may gain the sum of patience we need, though that will be difficult when, my lord, your brother shall quit this; for the whiles he is here, it does not seem to us that you are entirely absent. I am much comforted, my lord, by the hopes you entertain that affairs are likely to take a better turn, and if anything astonishes me it is that they should not yet be concluded, for it seems to me that it is high time they should be so.

"I have delivered all your messages to your daughters, my lord, who, in turn, present their compliments to your gracious acceptance. We all love each other well, and live in great familiarity and intimacy. They [the grown-up girls] take great care of the little ones—all of them are quite well, as also, my lord, the Count Maurice.

"Your most humble most obedient servant,

"As long as she may live,

"C. DE BOURBON."

Still preoccupied with finding the best possible way of showing hospitable attention to Count John, the princess writes again to her husband on the following day these few lines:—

"I have been just thinking about the gentle-

men of your brother's suite, and how it seems to me that we ought to give them something. If it pleases you that I should have graven on gold your portrait and mine, both on one medal, or separately, with their mottoes, you will let me know, and likewise if a chain be required whereby to suspend them, of what value you would wish the chains to be."

The commencement of this letter (what we have just quoted is the postscript) is curious enough, and relates to a present sent to Charlotte by Queen Elizabeth, upon the confinement of the former, to whose new-born infant, as we have stated, the English queen stood sponsor:

"My Lord,

"I have received the present it has pleased you to send me on the part of the queen, and have found it very pretty and ingenious. As to the signification of the lizard—as it is said when any sleeping person is near being stung by a serpent the lizard waketh him—I fancy, my lord, that you are meant thereby, you having awakened the States of Holland, fearing lest they should be destroyed. God's grace grant that you may preserve them from the serpent! We received this morning M. and Madame de Mévode and their daughter, the Marquise de Berques, who is beautiful, and tall

of her age, which is only seventeen years. I looked at her well, in order that when we meet, I may be able to tell you what I think of her.

"8th October, eleven o'clock, before dinner."

There is something doubly touching in Charlotte's devotion to her lord, when we reflect that it cost her her life, and that, consequently, the words: "my health depends on yours," have in her mouth a literal sense. Her health appears to have been always rather delicate, but, as we before remarked, she seldom alludes to it, except as it happens to militate for or against some plan connected with the prince or his movements. Thus, on the 3rd of April, 1577, she writes:—"Respecting my state, I have at moments apprehended danger, which annoyed me, on account of your absence, but now I have no more apprehension, but hope on the contrary, with God's help, a return to good health! I have from time to time fits of faintness—a weakness to which I am, as you know, subject, but I hope that will also cease. Our two children are well, thank heaven!"

The year before, also, she is obliged even to refuse going to meet the prince, which she does in these terms:—"The Sire de Viry has imparted to me your commands that I should go to meet you, but I am unhappily too weak. I must wait

at least six or eight days, during which time I can, if it pleases God, take the air as far as the Hague" (the letter is dated Delft) "in order to see what I am equal to. As to your daughter, she is vastly well. I have inquired whether the passage of the sea might be bad for her—most people tell me not—but pray, my lord, tell me what you wish me to do with her."

The "daughter" here mentioned is Juliana, the future Countess Palatine, the admirable princess to whose untiring support and friendship her daughter-in-law, Elizabeth Stuart, owed so much. The pre-occupation of Charlotte de Bourbon touching this first-born child, is for many months incessant, and not a letter of hers that does not contain a phrase relating to this infant. In February, 1577, writing to her brother, the Prince-Dauphin as he was styled, she says:—"My health just now is tolerable, but as to my daughter, she takes such right good care to be well fed, that if she goes on after this manner, she will soon grow to a development which will enable her to know all she owes to you, and how she should pay you by gratitude. She is with me here at the prince's head-quarters. . . ." And a short time before, in another letter addressed to the same prince:—"I have been showing my little

girl to M. de la Beosse," she observes, "in order that he may tell you all about her."

That Charlotte's great qualities and amiable disposition were fully appreciated by those who surrounded her, is amply proved by the following passage in a letter of Count John's to Count Schonenburg; speaking of the Prince of Orange and his situation generally:—"The prince," says he, "looks so well, and is of such good courage, in spite of the small comfort he enjoys, and the extent of his troubles, his labours, and his perils, that you would hardly believe it, and would be immensely rejoiced thereat. Of a surety it is a most precious consolation and a wondrous relief that God should have given him a wife so distinguished by her virtue, her piety, her vast intelligence, —in a word, so perfectly all that he could wish; in return, he loves her tenderly."

Probably this last line speaks truth, yet, when Charlotte de Bourbon had laid down her gentle life for too great fear of losing him she adored, the Lord of her heart bethought him of other ties; and ere a whole year had passed over his recent loss, gave his hand and his name to another,—to Louise de Coligny, daughter of the famous admiral, and widow of the Comte de Téligny. On the 29th of May, 1582, three

weeks after Charlotte's death, we have the following few lines from the Prince of Orange to the Prince de Condé :—"Although I have made the nearest loss of all in my wife, and that for many reasons I cannot avoid acknowledging that some other persons have also partaken in my bereavement, on account of the great affection which she bore them; and for you, Sir, I can assure you, you have lost a good friend and relative, who honoured and loved you as much as she did any one. I hope, in consideration of the affliction it has pleased God to send me, you will continue to mark towards me and towards my little children the same good will as heretofore, as I, on my part, will endeavour to requite the same by all services God may enable me to render you." And on the 18th of April, 1583, (eleven months later,) Maurice of Nassau writes to his uncle from Leyden, where he was studying at the university: —"You will have heard that my lord father on the 12th of this month espoused Madame de Téligny—God give them his blessing!"

Poor Charlotte!—The rapidity with which in royal regions the dearest even may pass away, and but make room for others who in every respect supply and fill their places, is nowhere, to our sense, more strikingly exemplified than in the two following notes:—

"THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE TO JULIANA, COUNTESS OF NASSAU, HER MOTHER-IN-LAW.

" Madam,

" Although I have never yet been happy enough to see you, and express to you, according to my desire, the affection I have consecrated to your service, I allow myself to believe that, on account of the honour done to me by my lord your son, you will be pleased to regard favourably that good will which I humbly entreat of you to accept from me; and that you will be persuaded, if God furnishes me the means, that I shall put forth such zeal to serve you as shall prove the high value I place on your alliance. Doubly, madam, do I prize this alliance, both on account of your own personal virtue and on that of my lord your son, for the love of whom I hope you will favour me with a good part in your good graces, the which I humbly request of you, and pray God that times may soon become so peaceable that I may enjoy the honour of seeing you, and that, meanwhile, he may preserve you in good health, and grant you, madam, a very long and very happy life.

" Your most humble and obedient daughter,

" CHARLOTTE DE BOURBON."

" Zirikzee, 24th June, 1574."

"THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE TO COUNT JOHN OF NASSAU.

"Sir,

"I beseech of you to excuse me, if I have not written to you since I have had the honour to be allied to you. I have had no commodious means of so doing until now, by the return of your secretary. . I will not lose this opportunity of telling you, that, in the honour done me by my lord the prince in taking me for his wife, I thank God, as for one of His principal favours, for the having allied me to so many noble gentlemen who live in the fear of Him; amongst these, Sir, as you are the first in rank, so I would be the first in desire to serve you humbly, and I pray you to do me the honour of a share in your good graces, that I shall hold infinitely dear, and try to preserve by all that I can think will be agreeable to you. In this mind (and fearing to importune you by longer phrases) I kiss your hands humbly, and pray God, Sir, to grant you a very long and very happy life.

"Your humble and obedient sister,

"LOUISE DE COLIGNY."

"Antwerp, 12th July, 1583."

The writers only are changed, but the words are almost the same in both cases, and the princely dignity seems but a sort of frame, into

which, when one fair picture has faded, another is adapted. One is called Louisa, the other Charlotte; and therein lies all the difference. *All!* oh! poor loving heart, that should ever have hoped any thing beyond!

Before closing this portion of our work, we would fain give one more of Charlotte de Bourbon's letters: it is *her last* one, and is written from the same spot whence Louisa de Coligny writes her first to her new relatives—from Antwerp—and bears the date of the very day on which, one short year later, the husband for love of whom she dies, is to give his hand to another. It is addressed to Count John, and contains a short account of the prince's recovery from his wound;* with it we will conclude this slight sketch of the Princess Palatine's charming and but too devoted ancestress.

"Monsieur mon frère,

"As your secretary is going back to you, I would not omit to write in order to recall myself to your good graces, and assure you that I have never for an instant ceased thinking of you and

* Our readers are aware, that a month before an attempt had been made to assassinate the Prince of Orange at Antwerp. A pistol was fired at him, the ball of which entering under one ear passed out at the opposite cheek.

of the countess my sister. For this long time past, however, I have given you no assurance to that effect by my letters; I have much neglected my duties, because I hope you are good enough not to doubt my sentiments, and also because my daughter, Madame d'Orange,* gives you regularly news of us all. These news, alas! have been latterly extremely bad, from the wound of my lord the prince, your brother; and several times he has passed through such alternatives and dangers, on account of this cut vein, that, according to human previsions, he was nearer death than life. But God in His mercy has miraculously assisted us when our hope was at an end,—the blood has ceased to flow for fourteen days, the wound has become better every hour, and yesterday morning there came out a tent that the surgeons had pushed into the wound the day he bled for the last time, and that had lain there ever since. The wound heals now so well and naturally that we have no doubt of his recovery, with the aid of God's grace, for which I pray with all my heart, as I also pray, Monsieur mon frère, that he may

Some days after, a violent loss of blood ensued, which was only stopped by the constant pressure of a finger held to the wound. During the whole time of his suffering, his wife never left him for an instant, and when she had seen him saved, she died, worn out by fatigue and emotion.

* Mary of Nassau, later Countess Hohenloo.

give you good health and a long and happy life, wherewith I commend myself humbly to your good graces.

"(From Antwerp, 12th of April, 1582.)

"Your very humble and obedient sister,

"CHARLOTTE DE BOURBON."

On the 5th of May, scarcely more than a few days after writing this letter, the Princess of Orange resigned her gentle spirit to God, unable as she was to bear up against the shock which had been given her by the fear of losing all she best loved on earth.

CHAPTER III.

WILLIAM'S FEELINGS TOWARDS HIS CHILDREN — READINESS TO SEPARATE FROM THEM—LETTER TO THE DUC DE MONTPENSIER —"QUELQUE COCHE OU LITIERE"—INDIFFERENCE TO MAURICE —"SHE OF SAXONY"—THE "DIVINUM INGENIUM" OF YOUNG MAURICE — MARY OF NASSAU'S REQUEST — MAURICE TO HIS UNCLE—THE DOWAGER COUNTESS OF NASSAU TO HER SON JOHN— MARY OF NASSAU AND HER COUSIN, WILLIAM LOUIS — COUNT JOHN'S AFFECTION FOR HIS NIECES—THE "MEDICINES AND PRESERVES"—A PRINCESS "HAUSFRAU" IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY MARY OF NASSAU'S LETTER TO HER FATHER—"LOTS OF STAGS"— WHAT TO GIVE THE STEWARD—THE SPELLING OF A LADY IN THE YEAR 1576—JOHN OF NASSAU ABSENT AT THE MOMENT OF HIS BROTHER'S ASSASSINATION — THE PRINCE'S WILL — PHILIP OF BADEN AND THE PRINCIPALITY OF ORANGE—QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE DUC DE MONTPENSIER—THE SAME TO CATHERINE DE MEDICIS—LOUISE DE COLIGNY AND HER STEPCHILDREN—YOUNG LOUISE JULIENNE—GRAVITY OF THE FUTURE ELECTRESS PALATINE.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE had, as we have shown, by his four wives, twelve legitimate children, besides certain others, from whom sprung the houses of Nassau-Beverward, Nassau-La Leck, Nassau-Onwerkerk, and others. He is generally accused by the Dutch of having too easily aban-

doned his eldest son, Philip, Count of Beven, to the power of the King of Spain; be this as it may, the adoption by the young prince of the Catholic religion, rendered all political activity in Holland for ever impossible on his part. It certainly, however, must strike whoever peruses the correspondence of William of Nassau, that unless for the daughters of Charlotte of Bourbon,*

* It will be seen, at the same time, that even towards these there could have been no vast overflow of paternal affection, and that the idea of being delivered of any one of his progeny was never disagreeable to William. In 1582 (July), he writes to his father-in-law, the Duc de Montpensier, with whom he had been then for sometime on excellent terms, that he shall be most happy to let him have his daughter Juliana, which, in such a zealous defender of the Protestant Faith, is somewhat singular, when we reflect that M. de Montpensier was as fervent (if not more so) in his zeal for the Catholic, as William for the Protestant Church. The passage relating to Juliana, in the first letter, runs thus: "As to the journey of my daughter, upon whom you are pleased to bestow the honour of a reception in your house, for which I can never sufficiently thank you, I beg of you to let me know the moment when those of your household ('vos gens'), whom you mention in your letter, can be at Calais, in order that at that same moment I may also cause my daughter to set forth, she having been in readiness for her departure for some days past." The next communication (dated September) alludes, in the following terms, to the same circumstance: "Your letters are full of the most agreeable news to me; and as I see by them that you are pleased to wish for my little girl, I will have her put in readiness to depart with those who shall have the honour of placing her in your hands and in those of madame. She shall,

who were, even at the period of their mother's death, mere infants, the Patriot-Prince evinces something nearly approaching to a sort of indifference for his children. His eldest daughter, Mary of Nassau, the daughter of Anne of Egmont, together with Maurice, Anne, and Emilia, the offspring of the repudiated Princess of Saxony, are all brought up by Count John of Nassau, whom they really appear to have looked upon far more in the light of a father than they did their real parent.

Towards Maurice, there is on the part of the Prince of Orange a carelessness of feeling that is as little to be denied as understood, when we consider that owing to Philip de Buren's change of religion, this second son was inevitably destined to succeed his father in his political and military career. We trace nowhere the wish to guide and form this heir of all his greatness, or

God willing, leave this town (Antwerp) the 14th of this month, in order to reach Calais four days after, if the wind be favourable. I hope, as you have been pleased to inform me, that she will find some coach or litter ('quelque coche ou litière') wherein she can be borne. As to my other daughters, I have as yet decided on nothing"—the eldest was barely six!—"and, therefore, I entreat you to take it in good part, if as yet I only send you this one. You need not, Monseigneur, assure me of the good treatment she will receive, for having the honour to be your grandchild, I doubt not but you will order every necessary and proper care to be taken of her."

the desire to study his character, or direct its tendencies:—nowhere the fatherly longing to watch the development of a mind, which even in its first budding filled with surprise and joy all those who could observe it. Take to witness this letter, written by John of Nassau to his brother (in July 1575) concerning the education to be given to the several princes of his house.*

"I must not withhold from your Grace, that prompted thereto by the absolute necessity of my sons, I have resolved for the continuation and perfecting of their studies, to send them to Heidelberg, as being just now the first school in all Germany, the one richest in learned men, and best regulated in every respect; besides the boys, who are already pretty well advanced in French, will have there far greater advantages and practice for that language than in any other part of Germany. I shall, therefore, dispatch them thitherwards notwithstanding all objections, and also notwithstanding the great expense it entails.

"As, however, I know nothing of your Grace's intentions concerning your son Maurice," (he was than nine years old), "who has now for some time been at school with my boys and their

* John had six sons of his own.

cousins, who begins to study, and who—say the teachers (preceptors)—is possessed of great aptitudes, I would fain beg of you to confide in me, as you have done hitherto, in what regards him.

"I am in want of a tutor * who can attend to the children and their teachers, and who shall entirely superintend everything belonging to them, speak French and Latin with them, and besides their graver studies, mind that they are well versed in noble usages and the manners of the world, and that in riding, fencing, and other similar accomplishments, they attain to the necessary proficiency."

To this letter we find no immediate answer, but some months later the Prince writes to Count John: "I see by your last that you have some notion of being molested by the Duke of Saxony and the Landgraf, for your share in the affairs of her of Saxony, ('celle de Saxe'). I can scarcely believe this, nevertheless, for there is no reason on their part for such conduct, and I do not think they will attempt it. As to my son, Maurice, I should be very glad that they took him to themselves, and brought him up in a becoming fashion; but I should not, at the same time, like him to par-

* Probably to accompany them to Heidelberg

take of the same nursing as Duke Franz of Lauwenburg;* so that, on that account, if they ask for Maurice, you can say that you must first consult me, and we can then regulate the matter according to your convenience, and you can let me know what you think, and what is the advice of our relations and good friends."

That Count John was unequivocally opposed to this plan of allowing the young Prince to be educated by strangers appears in the following lines, addressed in answer to the above: "As to Maurice ever being sent to them, as you mention, it would be an eternal pity, for he goes on, thank God, excellently well, and I hope he will one day be a pride to your Grace and to his whole country. My children's tutor cannot praise him sufficiently; and he writes to me from Heidelberg that in Maurice he discovers nothing less than a 'divinum ingenium.'" †

* For an account of Duke Franz of Lauwenburg, see Schiller's "History of the Thirty Years' War." This weak, immoral prince has been often accused (although erroneously, as is now pretty well proved) of having assassinated Gustavus Adolphus at the battle of Lützen.

† The commencement of this letter is interesting, and relates to the discussions then pending about the marriage-portion of Anne of Saxony, which the Prince of Orange did not conceive himself obliged to refund. "As far as concerns the business with Tuscany and Hesse," writes Count John,

These early revealed faculties of a son, whose glory is one day to balance in history that of the father himself, do not appear to have caused any particular joy to the Prince, for we find, in a letter of the Countess Mary's (March, 1577), the following request: "I really ought and must pray to you for Maurice, for the tutor says he does merit so much, and takes such pains with his studies; he thinks if he said any little thing that Monseigneur should have sent him, that it would be a great encouragement, and would stimulate him to do his duty better and better still."

It might be that a feeling of bitterness was involuntarily harboured by the father towards the offspring of a guilty wife; if it were so, the sentiment seems to us to have been reciprocated by the son; and, spite of all the outward forms of courteous ceremoniousness, which render it so difficult to read a prince's real thoughts, we fancy we can perceive between Maurice and his illustrious sire, a coldness, to say the least of

"I have hopes it may not fall out so badly as many persons pretend, and perhaps wish. My mother and my housewife ('mein Frau-mutter und Hausfrau') went not long since to see Landgraf Wilhelm, and, as I desired, spoke to him on the point in question, and got others to do so too. His grace expressed himself in a highly satisfactory way, and declared that he knew nothing of such things, and that, as to me, I stood as well as ever in his opinion."

it, which neither appear well able to surmount. That the stern haughty nature of Maurice, in riper years, revolted at the thought of his mother's shame is probable, but that he cordially forgave her successor is highly problematical. We find him full of kindness for the daughter of Anne of Egmont, who was the protectress of his infancy, during which period she called him "le petit,"* and to the son of Louise de Coligny, Frederick Henry; he was, as is well known, an incomparable father, but between him and the children of Charlotte de Bourbon, as also between him and this princess herself, there seems as though there were a kind of moral separation, that—betrayed by no outward or distinct manifestation—allows itself only to be divined by a minute observer.

In the year 1581, Languet writes to the Elector of Saxony in Latin: "The Prince of Orange has many children, over all of whom rises superior Maurice, so called after his maternal grandfather, and who is about thirteen or fourteen years old."

"Monsieur," says the Prince of Orange, in the postscript of an epistle to the Prince de Condé (same year '81, 24 December), "You must excuse my wife for not writing to you,

* Letter from Mary of Nassau to her father, the Prince of Orange, 19th March, 1577.

seeing that but a very few days since she lay in of her sixth daughter!" And three days later, Maurice writes to his uncle, Count John, a very affectionate letter, wherein not one word is said of this recent addition to the family of Nassau. The letter is far more familiar in its tone than is usual from the young prince to any one else, and there is (as in all his communications to Count John) a desire to mark, as it were, exclusively, the sense that he has of gratitude due to him alone. The letter is as follows:—

"Sir,

"Although the thought of my infant years, influencing as much my capacities as my mere age, has hitherto deterred me from being so bold as to write to you, and offer to you, as well as to madame, my new mother,* my most

* This term, never employed in reference to his real father's wife, alludes to the second consort of his uncle, a princess palatine, daughter to the Elector Frederick III. Two years before, in 1579, Count John had lost his first wife, Elizabeth of Leuchtenberg, and, upon the occasion of her death, we find a letter from the count's mother, Juliana of Nassau, which is curious from the formality wherewith courtly etiquette tempers the expression of her heartfelt sympathy with her son, and grief for her who she says was "a daughter dear and devoted to her, as though she had been of her own blood." The epistle commences thus: "Beloved Son,—With what sorrow, with what bitter pain,

humble services, yet that infancy has not prevented me from knowing how deeply I am, and shall, all my life, be your debtor, nor from feeling the greatest desire to evince my strong sense of gratitude. On this account, Monsieur mon père, I will henceforward, with God's grace, try to acquit myself of my debt of duty as much as in me lies, and entreat of you by these few lines to continue (as you have hitherto been pleased to do) to look upon me always as your humble and obedient son, and to make use of me and my small talents whenever you think I can render you the slightest service. I will be brief this time, persuaded as I am of your being wanted for affairs far more important. I pray God, monsieur mon père, to give you good health through a long and happy life. "Your humble and obedient son,

"MAURICE OF NASSAU."

"Antwerp, 27 December, 1581.

"To my lord father, the Count
of Nassau Katzenelbogen."

The title of "father" is invariably given to

have I learnt the death of the highborn lady and princess, the Lady Elizabeth, born Landgravine of Leuchtenberg, Lady and Countess of Nassau Katzenelbogen, your Excellency's consort, and my dearly beloved lady daughter of sacred memory!!"

Count John by all the prince's children, except by those of Charlotte de Bourbon, who style him "monsieur mon oncle," and there is, in the way in which Mary and Maurice of Nassau address him, a tenderness which is rarely bestowed upon collaterals, save in those cases where, from no matter what cause, the parents have failed to inspire it. We have letters and notes without end from Mary of Nassau to her uncle, in all of which are to be found those traces of familiar fondness, those gentle terms of endearment usual between parents and children whose mutual affection is not only strong but expansive. In one (dated February, 1578), she assures her "heartily beloved father," that she is beyond measure happy at having received a parcel of letters from him, which had been delayed. "For," adds she, "I now am sure that your excellency's kindness for me is not exhausted, and that poor 'Maike'* is not forgotten. I am so rejoiced at seeing that so clearly!" she then exclaims, in a tone of delight quite charming from its genuine simplicity.

A month later, she broaches with him the subject of her reported engagement (she was then somewhere about eighteen) to his son, William-Louis, who, in fact, eight years after

* A diminutive for Maria.

married her younger sister, Anne, instead of herself, she having married her other cousin, Philip of Hohenloo. On this occasion—"Best and dearest father," says she, "touching what your excellency tells me of the report, that I am affianced to your eldest son, I cannot recover from my surprise at people talking about it at all, for there has never been a question of any such thing! The moment is not come for it at any rate, and I do not fancy that he troubles himself about me. If ever such a thing were in contemplation, I hope I shall be believed when I affirm that I should not hide it from your excellency. Pious children should do nothing without the consent of their parents, and as I look upon your excellency as my father, so guard me Heaven from ever acting otherwise than by your advice.

"I must not conceal from you that Maurice is no longer in Breda, and that he is to be sent in a day or two to Leyden.* (Antwerp—in the greatest haste—19 March, 1578.)

"Your entirely obedient and faithful
daughter, as long as shall last my life,
"MARY OF NASSAU."

* In fact, Maurice was not sent to Leyden for four years after this date, in 1582; but at this period the prince's natural son, Justin de Nassau, was following his studies there.

A year previous to this correspondence, the Prince of Orange had written to his brother John (February, 1577,) begging of him to come to Holland for the transaction of business—"there being," as he says, "matters of such importance to settle that I cannot confide them to you on paper,"—and requesting he would bring with him their mother, the Countess Juliana, the count's wife, and the two young countesses, Mary and Anne, the prince's daughters. At this epoch, young Maurice, then between eleven and twelve, was suffering from a tumour; and the medical authorities being divided as to how it should be treated, the general opinion was that the boy ought to be sent to Holland to be taken care of. A devoted adherent of the family writes to Count John: "His Grace" (the Prince) "decides nothing thereupon, but puts us ever off until the morrow." However, at last, Maurice is sent for, and a medical treatment adopted, which does not appear to have been perfectly efficacious, for he suffered many years later from this same malady.

Count John replied affirmatively to his brother's wish, but announcing to him that, for the present, none of the ladies above alluded to would be able to accompany him. Before undertaking the journey himself, we find the ensuing

letter from him, relating to the prince's desire to see his elder daughters, and proving how warm a place all these children had in their uncle's affections :—

"Your Grace's daughter, the Lady Mary, advises me that your intention is to call her shortly to Holland to stay with you. If this step has for its sole reason any advantage to your Grace or your daughter, not only shall I be rejoiced thereat, but I would forward the same by all the means in my power. But if, on the contrary, gracious sir, you intended thereby to imply the idea that her ladyship, your daughter, might, perchance, be a burthen to me, I should, in that case, be much grieved, and beg and entreat of you to harbour no such thoughts, but to leave her with us as long as possible; or, if your grace wished, at any given moment, to see her on a visit to yourself and your consort, to keep her as short a time as might be. Not only is she no burthen to me, and my wife and I are happy to have her near us, but, for my mother's sake, I should be very sorry that, without an indispensable cause, she should either leave or remain long absent from us. In truth, my mother declines sadly; she is capable of scarce any exertion, and, when she is alone, is very melancholy and gloomy; she is particularly con-

tent when she can have your Grace's daughter by her, for the reason that the latter is, the greater part of the day, occupied about her, either reading, writing, or helping her to make and parcel out preserves, medicines, and such like things. Most assuredly she would be sorely tried were she to lose my niece, and remain all alone; for the same sort of thing happened, I perceived, and she avowed it, when my daughter Anna, who was always with her, died. My housewife ('meine Hauszfrau') has, what with the children, and what with the housekeeping, so much more work than she can get through, that she can devote but very little of the day to my lady mother.

"Dillenburg (in great haste), 26th May, 1577.

"Your Grace's ever devoted to serve you,

"JOHN, Count of Nassau

"Katzenelbogen."

This eldest niece, the Countess Mary, was the great scribe of the family, and on every occasion we have notes and letters from her. She seems, too, to be the only one of the Prince's elder children who venture upon a tone of familiarity with him; and in her communications there is an absence of all restraint which we seldom

meet with in the rest. One will serve as a sample :*

"Sir, and much-loved father," writes the Lady Mary, on the 15th October, 1576, "I received, on the 12th of this month, the letter you were pleased to write to me, and which, I assure you, made me very glad by giving me news of you, and letting me learn your good health and that of Madame, whereat I was much rejoiced, and

* The orthography of this letter is so very curious that we cannot resist the temptation of giving it to our readers in the original: "Monsieur mon bien aymé père. J'ay rechu le 12 de se moys vouster letter qu'il vous at pleut m'escripre, laquelle m'at rendu je vous asseure, bien contente pour avoir se bien d'avoir de vous nouvelles et entendre vouster bonne santé et selle de Madame, de coy je suys esté fort réjouy et ne savoys ouvir chosse plus agréable que d'ester advertie de vouster prosperité et prie à mon Dieu qu'J vous y veulle longtamps maigntenir. Quant à Mons^r. mon Oncle et Madame je ne vous savoys ousy mander aulter chosse sinon que qu'i sont Dieu mercy, encore en bonne santé, et nous somme encore icy tous auprès du Conte Albert sur la schase où que nous avons prius forse serffs. Je voulderoys que j'eusé peu souheider Mons^r auprès affin que eusis eung peu eu du pastan, car je sey veritablement que n'en avés gère, mais bien beaucoup de négose et roupement de teste se qui me donne souventefois grande facherie quant j'y pénse mais j'espère par la grase de Dieu, qu'J vous en déliverat bien tô, se, que de tout mon cœur jé Luy prie Je suys ausy ésté bien aise d'eustander par vouster letter que les affaires font sy bien en Brabant;

can hear nothing more agreeable than the announcement of your prosperity, for the continuance of which I pray God.

"As to my lord uncle and my lady, I have nothing to tell, save that they are, Heaven be praised, in good health. We are still all of us here at the hunt with Count Albert," (the letter is dated Ottweiler en Wetterich,) "and have taken lots of stags. I wish that, by wishing, I could transport you hither, monseigneur, in order that you might enjoy some pastime, for I

j'espère qu'i continuéront tou lé jour de mieult et que par selle occasion Dieu nous feroyt la grase que le tout vinderat bientô à enugne bonne ferme paix, se que je souheide de tout mon ceur affin que puis avoir se bien de voir Monsr. et Madame eung jour en repos. Du surplus comme Monsr. m'escript ousy touchant du mester d'Hotel et aulters qui ont le souig de mon frère Mourits, que je leur doroy selon qui me semble ester resonable, je ne say serte bonnement comment faire car je craign de donner trop ou trop peu; je voulderoys q'ue m'eusis mandé combien mais toutefois, puis que sela ne se faict, je demanderay à Monsr mon oncle se qu'i pense qui je poray donner et selon se qu'y me dirat, je me rigéleray: se ne serat poient argent perdu, car serte le mester d'hôtel eu preu grant soing, et à se que j'eutens Maurits se gouverne ousy asé bien. J'éspère qu'y continuerat ousy toujour aynsi—— Vouster très humble et très obéisante fille jusque à la mort.

"MARIE DE NASSAU.

"Ma sœur Anne m'ast prié ousy vous faire sé très humbles recommandacions. . . . Elle vous euse volontir escript, mais yl n'y at poient esté pousibele, à cause qu'elle a eait sy grau douleur de teste."

know truly that you have none, but only plenty of business and head-worry (beaucoup de negose et rompement de tête), which often much annoys me when I think of it; but I hope, by God's grace, that he will soon deliver you therefrom, and I pray this of him with all my heart; I was also charmed to find, by your letter, that matters were going on well in Brabant; I trust they will go on better every day, and that, by that means, God will grant that a good firm peace may be made, the which I desire with all my heart, to the end that I may one day see you, monseigneur, and madame, in repose. Besides all this, you mention, in regard to the steward and others, who have the care of my brother Maurice, that I may give them what I deem fitting. Now, I really do not know what to do, for I fear to give too little or too much I wish you had told me how much exactly; however, as it must be done, I will ask my uncle what he thinks I ought to give, and, according to what he tells me, I will be ruled. It will not be money wasted, for of a surety the steward does take great care of my brother; and as I hear Maurice conducts himself pretty well too, I hope he will ever continue to do so.

"Your most humble and obedient daughter until death,

"MARIE DE NASSAU.

"My sister Anne begs me to present you her most humble compliments; she would have written to you willingly, but it was impossible on account of her having such a very great pain in her head."

When, in 1584, the crime was perpetrated which deprived the Netherlands of their first great champion, John of Nassau was absent from Holland, and had returned to Germany. On the other hand, all his children, except Anne of Saxony's youngest daughter, Emilia, were residing with the Prince at Delft at the moment of his assassination.

The correspondence, as might be expected, is voluminous, and full of details of every sort between Mary of Nassau and her uncle, and, amongst other circumstances worthy of note, is the reference to William of Nassau's testamentary dispositions in regard to the Principality of Orange. At the end of a letter, dated 27th July (little more than a fortnight after her father's death), the Countess Mary adds the following passage: "After I had closed my letter, I must not omit to tell you that my father's adviser ('meines Heren Vatteren Rath') showed to me an act wherein the blessed deceased has provided that my brother, Philip William, the Count of Buren, is to inherit the Principality

of Orange. As, however, he has been so long detained in Spain, and, therefore, cannot govern his lands in person, my lord has settled and specially ordained that my brother, Count Maurice, is to regulate the affairs of the said Principality until such time as my brother, Count de Buren, shall be free, and can come here himself; he has also provided that Maurice shall not be held to furnish any account of his administration or government, and that the above-mentioned Count de Buren shall receive, and take back from him, the Principality, even as he finds it, and in whatever condition it may be."

There are many curious letters in the correspondence of the different members of the Nassau family upon the occasion of William's death, and amongst others, a letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Duc de Montpensier,* Charlotte de Bourbon's brother. It is as follows:

* This letter does not properly belong to the archives of the House of Nassau, but, as bearing so nearly upon this subject, has been quoted by the collector of the latter. The original exists in the British Museum. There is also another letter derived from the same source, which is foreign to the affairs of Holland altogether, but which to the English reader is curious from the light it throws upon the "Fair Vestal throned in the West," and upon her matrimonial speculations. It is addressed by Elizabeth to the Queen-mother of France upon the death of the Duc d'Anjou, and runs thus:

"Madame,—If the excess of my grief had not made equal my sorrow and its cause, and rendered me incapable of touch-

"My lord cousin,

"As the late Prince of Orange, foreseeing the danger to which he was always exposed from the plots and conspiracies of his enemies, had, during his lifetime, fervently recommended to us his daughters, and entreated of us to take them under our protection, if it so chanced that he left them fatherless, relying (as well he might) upon the favour and affection that we had always shown him, we have resolved, in consequence of the unhappy accident of his death, to consign the eldest to the Lady Princess of Navarre (her relative as you are aware), by whom she cannot fail of being well and virtuously educated; and to send for the second,

ing the wound from which my heart suffers, it would have been impossible that I should have neglected to give the company of my regret to yours—yours being, believe me, unable to surpass mine. Although you were his mother, yet you have still other children, whereas I have no consolation but death, which I hope will soon bring us together. If you could see the image of my heart you would look upon the portrait of a body without a soul. But I will not importune you with my complaints, you have more than enough of your own. At all events, I promise you at this hour that a great part of the love I bore him I will now turn towards my good brother the king and yourself, assuring you that you will find in me the faithfullest daughter and sister that ever princes had, and for the reason that he to whom I had consecrated myself entirely stood so nearly to you. How entirely I was devoted to him you would have better known if he had enjoyed the divine boon of a longer life."

who is our godchild, in order to have her here with us. We have already recommended the next one, called Brabantine, to Madame the Duchess de Bouillon, your sister, to be brought up with her daughter, Mademoiselle de Bouillon. The two others were already promised; she called Amélyne* to the Electress Palatine, and the other, called Katherine, to the Countess of Schwarzbourg, their respective godmothers. As to the last, named Flandrine, whom the Lady of Paracly had already taken whilst the father lived, we have specially and expressly recommended her to the latter. Of all this, we have thought fitting to advertize you, because of the interest you must, by right of nature, feel in the prince's daughters, and we hope you will not disapprove of the way in which we have disposed of them, but, on the contrary, will be pleased with the care we have taken. We beg of you to second us and accord us all the support you can, as their nearest relation on the mother's side; likewise to accept the guardianship of your nieces by constituting yourself the protector of whatever property they have in France, so that they may have wherewithal to keep them, and to that end we beg of you to invoke the king's autho-

* Emilia "the Second," as she was called. Emilia "the First" was the daughter of Anne of Saxony, and married Emmanuel the exiled Prince of Portugal.

rity, so that he also may stand by them if need be. And here, closing this letter, we pray the Creator that he may watch over you, Monsieur mon cousin, and grant you a long life and happy. Written at our house of Hampton Court the 17th day of October, 1584.

"Your most affectionate good cousin and most assured friend for ever,

"ELIZABETH R."*

These arrangements of Elizabeth's for her young charges were not in the sequel carried out, and the widowed Princess of Orange undertook the care of all her step-children, more or less a delicate duty at all times, but which Louise de Coligny discharged with an uprightness, a tact, and a devotion that gained for her the affection of each, even of Maurice, who, in later years, evinced his filial respect for her by confiding to her more than one of his most secret combinations. In a letter addressed by her to Count John at the end of October, 1584, she speaks thus of the numerous family left to her maternal guardianship:—

"My son, Count Maurice, is very well, thank God! and is about starting for Zealand. My

* It will be perceived that it is a question only of the children William of Orange had had by Charlotte de Bourbon.

daughters, Madèmoiselle d'Orange [Mary of Nassau] and Anne are now at Buren. Little Catherine Belgique is with the Countess de Schwartzbourg, my sister. The others are with me, all in excellent health (as also my son), except Louise, who is extremely ill since six weeks, so ill that the doctors have but a bad opinion of her, and give but bad hopes. I do, and will do, God willing, all I can for her."

We have, at this same epoch, two letters from little Louise Julienne herself, who was then but eight years old. One is addressed to her uncle immediately after her father's death, and the other is dated shortly after the long illness of which her step-mother speaks. In both the serious, almost grave character, of the future Countess Palatine is already evident, and to an observer's eye, the admirable mother of the unfortunate Frederic V is more than dimly shadowed forth in the infant:—

"Monsieur mon oncle," writes Louise Julienne on the 26th July, "We have suffered so great a loss, my little sisters and I, that we know not to whom to confide our grief, unless to you, whom we supplicate most humbly to be to us all a father and kind uncle, in order that we may continue to be brought up in the faith in which, until now, my lord our father had us

educated; and if God award us this advantage, we shall be very happy. We beseech you, sir, to take us all under your protection, thereby most humbly kissing your hands, and those of my lady aunt also. We pray God to keep you well, and grant you, Monsieur mon oncle, a very long and very happy life. (Given in my hand.)

"Your most humble and most obedient,

"LOUISE JULIENNE, of Nassau and Orange."

"Sir, we beg of you to recommend us to the good graces of our sister Emilia."*

The other letter, written after the illness above alluded to, is more urgent still:—

"Monsieur mon oncle," again writes the little princess (19 December, 1584), "Although my lady mother tells me she has taken the trouble of sending you news of us, yet I will not so forget my duty as not to write to you so as always to recall myself to your good graces. I beg of you, most humbly, Monsieur mon oncle, to look upon us always not only as your nieces but as your most humble daughters, who will all their lives owe you obedience and homage, imploring you, at the same time, not to allow us to be

* Emilia I., who was at Dittenbourg with her uncle.

given over into the hands of such persons as would desire us to adopt another religion than that in which our late lord father and our mother had instructed us. For this reason, sir, and because you have more authority therein than any one else, we leave the whole in your hands, and having kissed them humbly, I pray God to grant to you health, and a long and happy life. This 19th December, in the hand of your very humble and very obedient niece,

"LOUISE JULIENNE de Nassau."

These early marks of intellectual and moral development in the young daughter of William the Taciturn are to us particularly interesting, as she was the very first person from whom the subject of this work received anything in the shape of what may be called an educational impression. When Elizabeth of England followed her husband, Frederick V, to Prague, to encircle her fair brow with a visionary crown, she left her eldest daughter, the so-called Princess of Bohemia, in charge of the widowed Electress Juliana, whose attainments and whose virtues were her best models, until the completion of her tenth year.

CHAPTER IV.

TO WHAT DEGREE OF POWER WILLIAM OF ORANGE HAD ASPIRED—THE FORTY-NINE ARTICLES—THE EMBARRASSMENT OF THE STATES—LEICESTER'S GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP—YOUNG MAURICE'S ACCESSION TO POWER—THE TREATY OF PEACE—INTERNAL DISSENTIONS—BARNEVELDT—WHY MAURICE ADMIRED THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA—HIS MONARCHICAL TENDENCIES—BARNEVELDT'S DEATH—LOUISE DE COLIGNY—THE LITTLE PRINCESS PALATINE AND LOUISE JULIENNE—THE TWO VISITS OF THE PALATINE FAMILY TO HOLLAND—HENRY FREDERICK'S MEMOIRS—HOW MAURICE ADMIRED ELIZABETH STUART—HIS KINDNESS TO HIS SISTER EMILIA—HIS CONDUCT TO HIS BROTHER FREDERICK HENRY—HIS VOLUNTARY CONSENT TO THE MARRIAGE WITH AMELIA DE SALMS—HIS DEATH—OPINION OF BASNAGE ON MAURICE DE NASSAU.

A most erroneous idea has been very generally accredited concerning the degree of power that William of Orange was on the eve of assuming, when the blow of an assassin ended his life. It has been advanced, even by Dutch historians themselves, that the Prince of Orange aimed at absolute sovereignty; and we find in Mersenne the following passage:—"Towards this period there was a great talk of making

the prince Count of Holland,* and of giving absolute and sovereign authority into his hands, so that the other surrounding provinces should depend upon him for protection."

This assertion is sufficiently refuted by casting a glance over the forty-nine articles by which the ambition of the new sovereign was to be kept in check. It is not our intention to subject the reader to a perusal of them all, but the mention of a few amongst them will suffice, as for example :—the solemn sanction granted for all the privileges wrung in earlier times by the people from Mary of Burgundy; the necessity of the consent of the States, not alone to the taxes, but in the matter of peace and war, and of any negociation or treaty, of no matter what kind; the fixed assembly of the States once a year; and besides that, the liberty of meeting at any moment that might suit themselves; and most to be remarked of all, the distinct and express right awarded to the States, of decreeing a fresh form of government, in case their so-called ruler should violate any one of the articles of the Constitution, and refuse immediate redress for the grievance! It will be

* This is also a mistaken term, for it is well proved (*vide* Kluit and others) that at the moment of his death the prince was already recognized as Count of the Province of Holland.

readily admitted, that with such "lets and hindrances," the authority about to be delegated to William of Orange, at the period of his assassination, would never have done more than place him in the position held later by the Stadtholder, that of the first and hereditary magistrate of a republican state. Neither was it in the nature of the prince to desire more sovereign power than was necessary to make him really and efficaciously the protector and defender of the Dutch Provinces, and perhaps, as far as mere personal ambition goes, no character in history will be found freer from it than his. But if this was the case with the father, it was decidedly not so with the son; and Maurice would probably have hesitated some time before he would have volunteered the declaration which, falling from the lips of William of Nassau, has since become the basis of so much change in many countries:—"The people are not made for the prince, but the prince for the people; their right is to depose their sovereign, when, instead of defending them, he becomes their enemy by his vexatious acts."

At William's death, The United Provinces fell for a time into complete despair; for whatever prerogatives they might seek to assure to themselves, they could not but feel that he, and he alone, was the one animating principle,—the

soul of the Confederation. The necessity of a chief, of a *head* was, as usual, experienced; and after tendering their allegiance to the King of France, who had a vast deal too much on his hands at home to dream of accepting what would have involved him in an immediate war with Spain, they offered themselves to Queen Elizabeth, who allowed the Earl of Leicester to assume the title of governor-general and captain-general of the United States of the Netherlands. This arrangement, however, was soon discovered to be an impossibility, and Dudley signed a formal note of resignation, leaving the Dutch Provinces pretty much in the same condition they were in two years before. Then it was that they applied to Barneveldt, and that in 1587 he established the Republic, with young Maurice of Nassau, then scarcely more than eighteen, at its head.

What followed is a well-known history, and the parallel, alas! of all that too often happens in such cases. During more than twenty years, Maurice was the champion of the States: he fought for them, vanquished in their name, and in 1609 crowned his father's work, by forcing Spain to acknowledge the existence of the Republic as a free and independent Power, and to conclude with the Netherlands an armistice of twelve years. External repose being achieved,

internal discord began, and a purely theological question, envenomed by party zeal, degenerated into a political dispute, which was only to cease by the sacrifice of a man whose name was held in honour and veneration by his country. So long as the Republic itself was exposed to any danger from a foreign enemy, Maurice of Nassau and Barneveldt were united in opinion and views; whilst the former reigned over his victorious troops, and gained laurels in every action against the Spaniard, the latter presided with undenied and consummate zeal over the administration of affairs, and whatever regarded the internal policy of the State. But with the treaty of peace opened a period of comparative inaction, insupportable to a nature such as was that of Maurice. The constant activity of a military life, the habit of supreme command, joined to the aspiring energy of his own character, all united to direct his thoughts towards the conquest of a sovereignty he had, perhaps, not contemplated before, and to inflame an ambition which his partner in the government had not till then suspected.

When, years after, the unfortunate Elector Palatine was driven to the Hague as the sole refuge he could find for himself and his exiled family, he preferred, as we have said, the continuation of his life of hopeless, useless, knight-

errantry, to the severe observances of his uncle's court, where his wife and children continued to reside; but another reason may also be discovered for the distaste he evinced for Dutch manners and customs, in the small esteem wherein Maurice of Nassau held him. It is the remark of some Dutch historians, that besides the impression made upon the Prince of Orange by the beauty and fascination of Elizabeth of England, he manifestly admired in her the proud spirit of her race, which never for an instant allowed the dignity of royalty to be diminished in her person, and which, in her retreat on the banks of the Scheldt, as in the halls of Heidelberg, or the Hradschin, made her "every inch a queen."

There is another cause, however, for the prince's great admiration of his nephew's wife; and after following, as we have done, the domestic annals of the Nassau family for the last few years of the life of William the Taciturn, we cannot be surprised at the ensuing speech in the mouth of Anne of Saxony's son, nor wonder at the price his mother's guilt had taught him to set upon female purity. "The Queen of Bohemia," he is reported to have said, "is accounted the most charming princess of Europe, and called by some the queen of hearts; but she is far more than that,—she is a true and

faithful wife, and that, too, of a husband who is in every respect her inferior."

In Maurice of Nassau dwelt the desire (there can be no doubt of it) to unite and concentrate in his own hands the power that Barneveldt had in his constitution of the Republic divided between the seven Sovereign States. The famous discussion of the Remonstrants and counter-Remonstrants, originating in a religious difference, was, in fact, the struggle for authority of Maurice against Barneveldt, who thought it his duty to uphold Republican principles. "I trouble myself little enough about predestination," said Maurice, speaking to the burgomeister of Gouda upon the ostensible cause of quarrel, "it may be grey or blue for aught I care; but what I do mind and know perfectly well, is, that the pipes of the lawyer Barneveldt don't play the same tune as mine."*

The death of his father's friend, of the trusty guide and adviser of his own youth, when a word from the Stadtholder would have sufficed to save him, will, notwithstanding all his well earned glory, attach a stain through history to the name of Maurice of Nassau. It is said by some historians, and hinted amongst others by Aubrey

* *Vide* Sirtema de Grovestius, "Histoire des luttes et rivalités politiques entre les Puissances Maritimes et la France"; and also Stalker, "Prins Mauritz van Nassau."

de Manvier, that Barneveldt's defeat was planned in the prince's mind long before the conduct of the Great Pensionary furnished an ostensible reason for the Stadtholder's severity, and from the facts related by this historian, it may be inferred that Louise de Coligny for many years dreaded the fate she saw impending over her late husband's counsellor. Maurice, as we have said, placed unbounded confidence in his mother-in-law, and it is asserted that he had charged her to negotiate with Barneveldt the terms on which the latter would consent to and abet the establishment of a Monarchy in the Netherlands. Louise, it seems, repeated to the prince, the positive refusal of the Great Pensionary, to which Maurice contented himself with replying, "It is well," in such a tone, and with such a look, that his mother-in-law was haunted to the end by the remembrance of both.

When the little Princess Palatine visited Holland for the first time, it was as a child; and her warlike uncle, Maurice, pinching her ear, playfully exclaimed: "Another Louise-Julienne, as demure as the former."

At this period the Elector Palatine accepted, for the second time, the hospitality of the United Provinces, but under what different circumstances! Nine years before, when he and his fair bride left England for his lordly residence

on the banks of the Rhine, it was Maurice of Nassau, proud beyond all things of his nephew's alliance with the house of Stuart, who received the illustrious pair, and from fête to fête conducted Elizabeth of England from Flushing to the confines of her husband's dominions; now, it was as fugitives that Frederick of Bohemia and his queen met their glorious relative; and in the memoirs of Henry of Orange,* we find the following passage: "In the midst of all this, the King and Queen of Bohemia, who, after their election, had been deposed and dispossessed of rank and state by the loss of the battle of Prague, arrived at the Hague, having made a long journey full of difficulties and disasters. They were received with the honours and civilities due to their high condition by the States, as well as by the Prince of Orange."

As long as he lived, Maurice never neglected any opportunity of showing kindness and even courtier-like attention to the exiled "pearl of Britain;" and he, who seldom used but the language of blame and sarcasm on the subject of the amusements and festivities of society, gave a loose to his imagination in inventing pleasures for the fascinating spouse of Frederick V.

* Frederick Henry, the son of William I and Louise de Coligny, left a volume of his "Memoirs" in the care of his daughter, the Princess of Anhalt-Dessau.

"The spring having set in," says Henry of Orange, in another part of the Memoirs already quoted, "and it being supposed that no campaign would be undertaken this year, and that there was nothing to fear from the enemy, the Prince of Orange, in the beginning of May, conducted the Queen of Bohemia to Breda, in company with the English and Venetian Ambassadors, and a vast number of ladies and cavaliers, and there they all remained eight days, and diverted themselves with never-ending hunts, excursions, and all manner of amusements, at the end of which they returned to the Hague."

This was in 1624, a year before the prince's death. We have said that Elizabeth Stuart was the only woman who can be said to have inspired Maurice of Nassau with feelings of a certain nature; this must not be misunderstood: Maurice was more exclusively a soldier than his father, and the sentiments he was capable of harbouring towards the softer sex, were those which are too often observable in men used to the stirring existence of a camp. Maurice, like his father, had more than one illegitimate descendant; and in one case, it is alleged that the mother, a young girl of high lineage, was the object of more than a mere passing caprice; but once only in his life did the haughty and heroic son of William the Taciturn, learn

to know what woman-worship was—once only did he recognize and bend to the royalty of woman, and divine (vaguely, perhaps, even then) what more chivalrous ages meant by the then pure and exalted word "mistress." Elizabeth Stuart taught the rude Stadtholder that there might be dignity as well as happiness in the submission of the strong to the weak, and in the sweet presence of Frederick of Bohemia's chaste wife, the ceaseless distrust entailed by Anne of Saxony upon her son gave way, and he was reduced to admit that there might be faith in woman. If he had chosen to look nearer home, he might long ago have admired, in the sister to whom he likened the little Princess of Bohemia, all those noble qualities which, when she possesses them, cast so fair a glory round the mother of a family, and give to her an almost holy grace; but Louise-Julienne was the daughter of Charlotte of Bourbon, of the bride to marry whom his father had revealed the secret of his mother's shame, and, in spite of himself, Maurice of Nassau cared not to acknowledge the eminent virtues of that race. Demureness—that is the term the Stadtholder employs to characterize a dignity no less royal than that which so charms him in Elizabeth Stuart; but there the right word escapes—Maurice of Nassau was charmed.

That, notwithstanding his unrelenting sternness towards Barneveldt, there was much of the "milk of human kindness" in Maurice, is sufficiently attested by his conduct towards his own sister, Emilia, and towards his successor, Frederick Henry. The former married, against his will, Emmanuel, the exiled Prince of Portugal; yet we find the Stadtholder not only consenting later to receive her again into favour, but contributing to afford a maintenance to her husband, in whom everything displeased him. As to his behaviour towards Frederick Henry, it was, from the hour of their common parent's death, that of the tenderest and most watchful father; and assuredly the most entire devotion on the part of Louise de Coligny, could alone repay the debt she owed the Stadtholder for his conduct to her son.

The remarkable affection evinced by Maurice for this brother, some sixteen years younger than himself, can only be well appreciated by comparing its effects with the leading characteristics of the Stadtholder himself. Ambitious, both in his own person and in that of his race, proud of the name of Orange-Nassau, far beyond what might be thought to suit his position as chief of a Republican community, he at once and for ever abandoned all idea of a direct perpetuation of his line, by adopting the infant son

of his father's widow, and solemnly renouncing the thought of marriage for himself. Nor was this all; Maurice of Nassau aspired to lofty alliances, and loved (as he sufficiently proved in the case of his nephew, the Elector Palatine) that those of his family should unite themselves with what was highest on the thrones of Europe; yet, when he perceived his young brother's attachment to the Countess of Salms, and the fear of the former lest he should discover and disapprove it, he was himself the first to volunteer his consent; and Frederick Henry, in his Memoirs (wherein he invariably alludes to himself in the third person) recounts the matter thus:—

"In the beginning of this year [1625] the illness of the prince grew worse . . . . In the first days of March, he sent for his brother to the Hague, in order to concert with him what was to be done in case he himself could not conduct the campaign. When Prince Henry had arrived, his brother gave him all his instructions; and at the same time, to his delight and surprise, advised him to marry Mademoiselle de Salms, for whom, he said, he had discovered his inclination. The marriage was celebrated without any ceremony or magnificence, on account of the illness of the prince."

It must also be remarked that Amelia de

Salms had been almost formed under the guidance of Elizabeth of Bohemia, and that probably this circumstance exercised a tacit influence over the Stadtholder's determination. Maurice died in the full force of his age and his energy, at fifty-eight. Basnage, in his "Annales des Provinces Unies," speaks of him thus:—"Prince Maurice was one of the greatest generals of his time. All those who aspired to military fame tried to learn the art of war under his instructions. He was intrepid in danger, marvellously able at a siege, careful exceedingly of his troops, but subjecting them, as also their officers, to the severest discipline. Out of his life of fifty-eight years, he spent forty-one in commanding the armies of the Republic. After his death he was accused of aspiring to absolute sovereignty, and of having confided to the Dowager Princess of Orange, Louise de Coligny, his plans to that effect, and his desire to gain the consent of the Great Pensionary Barneveldt. It must be said that neither Barneveldt nor Grotius ever made this accusation, and that had it really been the Prince's intention he could but too easily have put it into execution after the death of Barneveldt. He was master of the various garrisons, who would have obeyed his slightest order. It is more natural far to assume, that the prince

and Barneveldt leading two opposed parties, the coldness which was between them from the moment of the armistice, turned to hatred, and became so violent, owing to the wicked suggestions and intrigues of inferiors, that the prince, possessed of the power to do so, gave over Barneveldt to his enemies, and did not interfere to save him when he had been condemned to lose his head."

CHAPTER V.

THE AMBITIOUS NATURE OF AMELIA DE SALMS—HER INFLUENCE—HER DISSENSIONS WITH HER SON — MARRIAGE OF WILLIAM II WITH MARY OF ENGLAND—HOW BROUGHT ABOUT—MARIE DE MEDICIS—CHARLES I, HENRIETTA MARIA, AND THE UNITED PROVINCES—PROJECTED MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES WITH LOUISE D'ORANGE — PRINCE OF ORANGE'S (FREDERICK HENRY'S) LETTER TO LORD JERMYN—RUPTURE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS—SORENESS OF THE STATES ABOUT MONEY GIVEN TO THE STUARTS—ELIZABETH OF BOHEMIA—FREDERICK HENRY'S DAUGHTERS—FRIENDS OF THE PRINCESS PALATINE—THE WIFE OF THE GREAT ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG—CHRISTINE OF SWEDEN AND OXENSTIERN — THE ELECTRESS OF BRANDENBURG'S TWO SISTERS—THE PRINCESS OF ANHALT-DESSAU—MARY OF ENGLAND'S DISDAIN FOR HER AUNT—THE ENTOURAGE OF THE YOUNG PRINCESS PALATINE.

THE best years of the life of the Princess Palatine,—from the age of ten to that of thirty,—were passed after the death of Maurice of Nassau, at the Court of his brother, Frederick Henry, whose wife, Amelia of Salms, was, as we have seen, her mother's intimate friend. Whether, had Maurice known the character of his young sister-in-law, he would have been so

ready to raise her to the dignity of a princess of Orange, is, we think, perhaps, a question; and the discussions which were ceaselessly occurring between Amelia and the States, both during the latter period of her husband's life, when his health and intellects were impaired, and during the sort of Regency wherewith she was invested as guardian to her grandson William III, would seem to justify the imputation thrown upon her by some historians of being an "intriguing ambitious spirit."

The influence gained by the Princess of Orange over her husband was such, that in his last years Frederick Henry was suspected of favouring Cardinal Mazarin's plan for making over the Netherlands to France, and giving the Catalonian Provinces back to Spain in exchange. It is certain that at the idea of possessing Antwerp, which the Cardinal had offered to the Stadtholder, both the prince and his wife were rejoiced beyond bounds. "She will be out of her wits with delight," said Mazarin, speaking of Amelia of Salms, "if once she can set foot in that town." At a later period, on the contrary, we find the Princess of Orange in open enmity with her son William II, because the latter insisted on entering into the views of the French Government, and recommencing the war with Spain; and Servien, in his

famous mission, found in Amelia the principal obstacle to all his efforts. In consequence of this change in her politics, the Princess of Orange, after her husband's death, became for a time such an object of affection to the States that they made his reconciliation with his mother a condition of her son's nomination to the Stadtholdership.

The marriage of this only son of Frederick Henry and Amelia with the Princess Mary of England, daughter to Charles I, has been generally ascribed, but erroneously so, to the influence of the Queen of Bohemia, who, it was naturally supposed, had made use of all her power over her friend, the Princess of Orange, in order to draw a member of her own family to the Court where she seemed destined to reside, but the cause of the alliance with England was a very different one, and as it is but little known, we will borrow some few details of it from a Dutch writer, who has recently made all concerning this period of history in Holland the object of his especial study.* This marriage has for us so particularly great an interest (inasmuch as upon it rests the right of William III to the crown) that probably the English reader will not be inclined to

* Sirtema de Grovestius.

quarrel with a digression that contributes to throw any light upon it.

The union of Prince William with Mary of England was, in fact, intended to procure to the house of Stuart, then already threatened in its power and pride, the support of the house of Orange, which in its strength and its prosperity appeared certain of the most brilliant and solid future. A republican State was deemed (and, perhaps, really was) the best ally that could be provided for a sovereign who in his people's eyes was suspicious from his too manifest attachment to what is termed Absolutism in monarchy.

Marie de Medicis, the mother-in-law of Charles I, seems to have been the first person who made any direct overtures to the Court of the Hague, touching the possibility of an alliance with England, and the delight conceived by the Prince of Orange at the idea was revealed in the splendid hospitality with which he treated the queen-mother of France upon her visit to Holland in 1638. On leaving the Netherlands, Marie de Medicis hastened over to England, where, as we know, her reception on the part of the people was far from flattering, and where the King's authority barely sufficed to insure to her the respect due to her rank and her misfortunes. But in this short visit of a

few months she had contrived to negotiate the affair of the Dutch alliance. At first the haughty spirit of both Charles Stuart and his Bourbon queen drew back disdainfully from the thought of a marriage so unequal; but, besides the policy of the measure, the widow of Henri Quatre brought her daughter and son-in-law to admit that a prince whose house had furnished an Emperor to the empire, and whose blood was already mixed with that of Bourbon, was an ally worthy of any throne in Europe. Charles consented; and, in 1641, Admiral Tromp conducted the young prince to London, where the marriage was solemnized, though only to be consummated two years after, when the bride should have completed her twelfth year. Almost at the same moment, Strafford laid down his head upon the block; and when, at the expiration of the term fixed, Henrietta Maria carried her daughter to her new home, and tried to obtain from her new allies the material advantages for which so many prejudices had been sacrificed, she learnt, at the cost of her dearest hopes, how small was the portion of authority enjoyed by the head of a republican State.

All the instincts and many of the interests of the States were diametrically opposed to Charles Stuart and his cause: as republicans

they abhorred his absolutist tendencies; as Protestants they feared his excessive tolerance of Catholicism, and lastly, they disliked in him the son of James I, who had once openly affirmed that "the Dutch were downright rebels, that he condemned their cause altogether, and that decidedly Ostend was the property of the Archduke." The desires of the Prince of Orange met, consequently, with but little encouragement from the representatives of the nation; and the Queen of England, always mistaken in supposing that success depended on the direct action of the Stadtholder, gained no further help for her husband's cause by proposing to Frederick Henry a second marriage between the Prince of Wales and Mademoiselle d'Orange, destined, five years later, to be the wife of the so-called great Elector of Brandenburg.

Charles was not anxious for the support of the United Provinces only; he counted on the personal efforts of the Prince of Orange to assist him in securing the co-operation of France. If France consented to enter into a league with England, then the hope was that the States would agree to continue the war with Spain, and also give the vessels required for transporting to the English coast the troops furnished by the French. If, on the contrary, France refused

her assistance, the Prince of Orange was to try and conclude a peace with Spain, and ship off for England the British regiments sent to him for the defence of The States. The chief hopes of the Stadtholder, however, centred in the French Government, and to this point he directed all his efforts. But whatever good-will might have actuated Anne of Austria, the Regent, and Cardinal Mazarin, the Fronde gave them too much occupation to allow of efficacious aid being lent by them to the Stuart cause, and this is clearly the conviction of the Prince of Orange when he writes to Lord Jermyn in Paris:—

"I hope their Majesties do me the honour to believe that I have no opinion save what is best calculated for their service; but really the surest counsel that can be given to the King is to set about arriving at an arrangement with his subjects at no matter what price. It is the only means by which matters can be brought back into the right road, whence they have been diverted by the late disorders. I strongly recommend you to lend your hand to this!"*

Meanwhile Henrietta Maria repairs to Paris, and moves heaven and earth to obtain assistance in the shape of money and men from Holland, as

* Archives of the House of Orange.

well as from France. She writes to Goffe, whom she had accredited to the Stadtholder, to submit to the latter the conditions whereby he is to acknowledge the honour of seeing his daughter Princess of Wales; and in Frederick Henry's embarrassed answers, the doubt of wringing any one of them from the States is clearly to be decyphered. He everywhere promises to "do his best," but he frankly admits his belief that little or nothing can be achieved in the way of "money, troops, or transport-vessels."

The marriage portion of Mademoiselle d'Orange was meant in the minds of Charles I and his Queen, to pay for the transport of the troops, and for the equipment of the ships required.

"The sums advanced for these purposes," says Henrietta Maria in her stipulations, "will be counted as so much paid out of the dower." But no such sums were forthcoming, or likely to be so.

With all the anxiety of the Stadtholder to assist the King of England, the States rendered his attempts entirely vain, and the communications of the English negotiators on this point are full of bitterness and disappointment. "It is quite certain," writes Goffe to the Secretary of the Prince of Orange, "that the desire to conclude the marriage treaty is sincere on their Majesty's side, but they wish that the States

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would also come forward frankly, and to begin with, renounce their most injurious negative neutrality, and help the King, as their alliance with him binds them to do."*

Still neither hard words nor fair ones, neither reproaches nor entreaty, seemed to produce any impression on the States; and on the 15th of April, 1646, two years after the commencement of the negotiations, Goffe was obliged to signify the rupture of the alliance in the following terms:—

"I am ordered to assure his Highness† of the energy and sincerity with which the King and Queen have never ceased to desire the termination of the marriage treaty between the Prince of Wales and Mademoiselle d'Orange; the long delays they have accorded in order to increase

* Archives of the House of Orange (Letter of the 5th August, 1645), and Sirtema de Grovestius.

† The Prince of Orange had, to the great displeasure of the States, solicited from the Emperor the rank of a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, which the latter had refused him. The King of France, by the advice of his ambassador, Charnace, awarded spontaneously the title of "Highness" to the Stadtholder, and, in the letter he wrote on the subject to the States General, assigned as a motive for so doing, "that that rank was due to the prince, not only on account of his illustrious birth, but for his great qualities and brilliant exploits; and that the title of 'Excellency,' borne by him hitherto, having become too common, was unworthy of him."

its chances of success, show how genuine have been their wishes for its accomplishment, since they now find themselves reduced to the last extremities, without having yet turned their thoughts towards any other Power, whose support might diminish their difficulties.

"Their Majesties are fully convinced of the good will and sincerity of his Highness, and hold themselves bound never to forget the pains he has taken to bring matters to the desired termination; but seeing the obstacles that the ill will of the States against the King oppose to his Highness, and whereby his Highness is rendered incapable of affording to the King the advantages that his present situation imperiously requires, they deem necessary for the interests of both parties, that the treaty should be broken off, which determination, nevertheless, it costs their Majesties extreme regret to take."*

This question of money was the most delicate, and the sorest of all, between Holland and the Stuart race, for the Dutch States could not avoid feeling that their financial resources were drawn upon by one after another of that unfortunate family. Elizabeth of Bohemia was looked upon as a martyr to the Protestant cause, and therefore thought entitled to the protection and

* Archives of the House of Orange.

hospitality of the Netherlands, but when it became a question of regularly and constantly affording support to the exiled Queen and her numerous family, the States grew niggardly, and from time to time allowed the existence of Charles I's sister at the Hague to be almost as bare of comfort as was that of his widow at the Louvre. That the Stadtholder himself was always well disposed towards his niece, and that in the Princess of Orange—"our Princess," as she calls her in her letters to her husband—Elizabeth never ceased to find her friend Amelia of Salms, unaltered, and ever devoted,—of these facts there can be no doubt, but we have seen how very little real influence had the last son of William the Taciturn over the republican institutions that hemmed him in, and how very little pecuniary succour he could command even in cases where his own most ardent wishes were concerned.

With the daughters of Frederick Henry and Amelia were passed the childhood and youth of the Princess of Bohemia, and in these three illustrious and distinguished ladies the future friend of Descartes found far more suitable companions than in her self-willed and capricious cousin, Mary of England, the Princess Royal of Orange, as she was always styled. Of these three sisters, the eldest, Louisa, so

near becoming the queen of Charles II, married as we have mentioned, Frederick William of Brandenburg, and it is curious enough that this union, so remarkable later for the tender attachment of the two persons it linked together, was in the beginning by no means a "mariage d'inclination." Gustavus Adolphus had planned the marriage of his heiress, Christina, with Frederick William, but every day fresh obstacles seemed to arise. Oxenstiern was accused of intending to make the queen marry his own son, and by the statutes he drew up concerning the limitation of power of the queen's consort, to have meant to turn all foreign princes from desiring her hand. The queen alone was to enjoy any authority, she alone was to dispose of the finances and of the armed forces, and, more extraordinary than all, if a son was born he was to follow the father's condition, and be looked upon as unable to succeed to the crown! These enactments, it was evident, could not suit such a spirit as Frederick of Brandenburg; and eventually all idea of the Swedish alliance was given up; but whilst a hope of bringing it to a conclusion remained, the elector gave no small umbrage to the Dutch by the slight anxiety he evinced to marry Mademoiselle d'Orange. Yet what happiness had this union in store for him! what a partner found the

victor of Führbellin in Frederick Henry's daughter, what a counsellor in difficulty, what a firm, courageous friend, what a tender, loving wife, what a true and genuine helpmate at all times! The great elector and Louisa of Nassau seemed really made for one another; and in the dominions over which her present descendants rule, the name of the Princess of Orange is still held in little short of veneration. "The name of Louisa is a happy one for Prussia" used to delight in repeating Frederick William III, when speaking of his own lovely queen, and recalling the virtues and undying fame of the great Elector's bride.

After the death of this illustrious princess, the charm of existence seemed to have departed from her lord, and his familiars used at all moments to find him revisiting her favourite haunts at Uranienburg, and sadly saying:—"I seek her at each step, everything is gone from me with her."

The Stadtholder's second daughter, married to her cousin the Prince of Nassau, was in every respect worthy of her father and her sister. Her conduct about the defence of Groningen was that of a heroine. She threw herself, with her son, into the midst of the besieged town, and would listen to no proposals for capitulation, although her own mother, the

Dowager Princess of Orange, refused her every species of aid or support. For her magnanimous behaviour on this occasion, the Comte d'Estrades spontaneously demanded from the French Government the sum of one hundred thousand francs, "as a testimonial of admiration for her heroism."

The Princess of Anhalt-Dessau was the third daughter of the Stadtholder, and an especial favourite of her father's, for whom she had also the deepest love and respect.* "She was a person of the rarest merit and most inestimable worth," writes one of her contemporaries, M. de Beausobre, to whom she communicated the "Memoirs" left her by her father, and to which we have already alluded. Her son was the Prince of Dessau, so famous in the military annals of Prussia.

Between the court of Frederick Henry and the family of the Queen of Bohemia the intercourse was constant; far more so, as we have said, than between the latter and the princess royal; and, indeed, there are not wanting those who pretend that the brilliant and frivolous Mary of England more than once allowed

* A fourth daughter of the Stadtholder is also sometimes, but rarely, mentioned. She married a Count of Simmern, of the Palatine family, and seems to have been much inferior to her elder sisters.

unseemly expressions of disdain to escape her for her aunt's reduced state. Be that as it may, the "entourage" of the Princess Palatine lay more exclusively with the members of the Dutch Court, and therefore we have not thought the slight sketch we have given of it superfluous. We will now furnish our readers with more ample details touching the subject of this volume herself.

NOTE ON THE ENGLISH MARRIAGE.—Page 96.

A long and circumstantial account of the courtship and espousals of William II and Mary of England is to be found in the "Memoirs" of Frederick Henry of Orange, whence we extract the following: "On the 5th of December, 1640, the prince" (Frederick Henry, as we have already mentioned, always speaks of himself in the third person) "reached the Hague, where he received the news that it had pleased the King of Great Britain to accord the hand of the Lady Mary, his eldest daughter, to Prince William his [the prince's] only son. The States, much rejoiced, deputed an embassy to England, to make the demand in form, and conclude the marriage. The ambassadors were MM. de Brederode, de Sommeredge, and de Heenvliet.

"The 1st of January, 1641, the above mentioned ambassadors left the Hague, embarked at Helvoetsluys, three days after arrived at Dover, whence they hastened to London to meet the king. They were extremely well received, and so forwarded their affairs, that, after some few audiences and communications on the subject of the marriage with the king's commissaries, all was settled notwithstanding the intrigues that had been set on foot. The king ordered the

commissaries to conclude the marriage between his eldest daughter, the Princess Mary, and Prince William of Orange, the former aged between ten and eleven, and the latter having completed his fifteenth year. The Prince of Orange being advised of this, and of the wish of the King and Queen of England to see his son in the shortest possible delay, dispatched him to London to thank their Majesties and to consummate the marriage; and for this purpose made him leave the Hague on the 20th of April, 1641, accompanied by a vast number of nobles and gentlemen. He embarked at Helvoetsluys, where awaited him the Lieutenant-Admiral of Holland with twenty men of war, that transported him in two days to Gravesend, where the King caused the Earl of Lindsay to visit him on landing, and to take coaches enough for the Prince and his whole suite. In these equipages he went to London, and on his arrival there, all along the road he met with wondrous demonstrations of joy from the people. When in London, he was set down at the palace of the King, who sent to meet him the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, his two sons. The two young princes advanced to the end of the great hall, whence they led him to the king and queen, who received him with many caresses and marks of affection; having thanked their Majesties for all the graces and honours done him, the prince was conducted to the dwelling prepared for him in the mansion of the Earl of Arundel, close to the House of Somerset, where resided the Princess Mary, to whom he instantly repaired and tendered homage as in duty bound. The king and queen had come some short time before to witness this interview, and again they showed the prince that same constant kindness which they ever showed him during his stay in their country, caressing and honouring him extraordinarily and like their own son. After a month's stay at the English Court, the king determined to conclude the marriage ceremonies. The young prince was therefore, on the morning of the 2nd of May, conducted to the king's chapel by the ambassadors of the States—the king coming in shortly after. The princess was led by her brothers, the

Prince of Wales and Duke of York, and they were married by the Bishop of Ely, Dean of the Royal Chapel, in presence of the king; the queen, and queen-mother of the most Christian king [Marie de Medicis], being, on account of their religion, in the upper gallery. The marriage ended, the young people were led back to the king's chamber, where they dined with the king, queen, queen-mother, and the two princes. The banquet being finished towards ten o'clock, the little princess was laid in her bed before the king and queen and all the court, the prince being in a room close by. Shortly after the king came to fetch him, and he was with much ceremony laid by the side of the princess, and then reconducted to his room. Thus passed the solemnities of these espousals, and the prince having stayed three weeks afterwards, took leave of the royal family and the court, receiving the promise that, according to the articles signed to that effect, the princess should be brought over to Holland. The king had his new son-in-law conducted as far as the Downs by the Earl of Holland, and there meeting the Dutch Lieutenant-Admiral with twelve men-of-war, he was re-transported to this country towards the beginning of the month of June."

CHAPTER VI.

SORBIERE—HIS ACCOUNT OF THE LADIES OF THE HAGUE—THE PRINCESS OF BOHEMIA — HER BIRTH — HEIDELBERG — THE "MEDICINES AND PRESERVES" OF FORMER TIMES—FREDERICK V MORE GAUL THAN TEUTON—PREFERENCE OF FRENCH HABITS AND MANNERS — BRUTALITY AND DEBAUCHERY OF GERMAN PRINCES—CHARLES V AT TABLE—ROAST PIG AND CALF'S HEAD—TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES—PHILLIP II—THE DRINKING CODE—MARKGRAF ALBERT OF BRANDENBURG—THE DUKE OF LIEGNITZ —VISIT TO THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK—"UNDER THE TABLE"—HORROR OF THE ELECTOR PALATINE FOR GERMAN MANNERS—BATTLE OF THE WEISSENBERG — FLIGHT OF THE PALATINE FAMILY—THE PRINCESS OF BOHEMIA JOINS HER MOTHER IN HOLLAND — FREDERICK HENRY OF BOHEMIA'S INTELLECTUAL SUPERIORITY—HIS DEATH IN THE ZUYDER ZEE.

"In my time," writes Sorbière,* "which was 1642 [towards the last years of Frederick Henry's life], there used in Holland to exist the following custom: the ladies of the Hague used to delight in going in boats from the

* Sorbière was a famous physician of the times of Louis XIII and Louis XIV. He lived for many years in Holland, and published at Leyden, in 1645, his celebrated paper on

Hague to Leyden or to Delft; they were dressed as women of the burgher class, and mixed in the crowd so as to hear all that might be said upon the great ones of the earth, touching whom they tried to provoke all present to converse. Often they heard much that concerned themselves, and even—their manners being something rather extraordinary—they seldom returned without some cavalier having offered them his services. The said cavaliers, however, were, for the most part, terribly disappointed in their hopes of having made acquaintance with females of a certain kind, for when they landed from the boats, there was invariably a coach in waiting, which carried off the fair adventuresses all alone. Elizabeth, the eldest of the Bohemian princesses, would sometimes join these parties. Wonders were told of this rare personage; it was said, that to the knowledge of strange tongues she added that of abstruse sciences; that she was not to

the motion of the heart. In 1650, he became Head of the College of Orange, and published a work, much read, upon the English Revolution, entitled, "Letter of a French Gentleman to one of his Friends at Amsterdam upon the real designs of Cromwell." He wrote also an excellent preface to Gassendi's works, several volumes of letters, discourses, and travels, besides his "Sorberiana," a collection of miscellanies, infinitely amusing, which was not brought out until after his death in 1670.

be satisfied with the mere pedantic terms of scholastic lore, but would dive down to the clearest possible comprehension of things; that she had the sharpest wit and most solid judgment; that she enjoyed listening to Descartes, and studied his works till far into the night; that she liked surgical experiments, and caused dissections to be made before her eyes; and, lastly, that in her palace dwelt a clergyman suspected of being a Socinian. Her age at this time seemed to be somewhere about twenty;* her beauty and her carriage were really those of a heroine.† She had three sisters and five brothers: Frederick, Robert, Maurice, Edward, Philippe, Louisa, Henrietta, and Sophia." ‡

When Elizabeth first saw the light, in her father's glorious old castle of Heidelberg, the time-honoured residence of the Electors Palatine, the religious war which was to devastate Germany and keep half Europe in commotion during a space of thirty years, had just

* Sorbière is mistaken by a few years. Elizabeth was at this period five and twenty.

† Here too the writer's gallantry somewhat deceives him; the Princess Palatine has been generally represented as "agreeable to look at," rather than positively beautiful.

‡ This is erroneous. Henry Frederick, the eldest son, named after the Stadtholder, was drowned in 1629, and Charles Louis, later the Elector Palatine, is forgotten in this enumeration.

broken out in the very country by whose name, as "Princess of Bohemia," she was to be known in history. But as yet the dread echoes of political strife had not affrighted the sweet peaceful shades of that fair abode, where, with Elizabeth of England and her accomplished lord, splendour and elegance reigned supreme, and procured for the Court of Heidelberg the surname of "the first and most cultivated in the German Empire."

Two years had already blessed the union of Frederick V with his British bride; and when, in 1619, the ill-fated prince decided on accepting the Bohemian crown, he took with him to Prague his first-born, Frederick Henry, then nearly five years old, leaving at Heidelberg Charles Louis and the infant Elizabeth, to the care of his mother, Juliana of Nassau, the daughter of William the Taciturn. The life led at Heidelberg by Frederick V was already very different from that of his forefathers; and it is probable that, had the ambassador whom William of Orange deputed to the Elector's Court to obtain from Frederick the Pious the hand of Charlotte de Bourbon, had Count Hohenloo returned to the upper world, he would hardly have recognized the altered aspect of those high circles where, in his time, as at Dillenburg, in John of Nassau's house, princesses

overlooked their household work in person, made drugs and potions, and took care of the proper confection of their preserves.

The French tendencies of the philosophical Elizabeth of Bohemia (tendencies which have made some of her countrymen say of her that "the Princess Palatine is more a French than a German princess") are to be traced to her father's early habits and education. Frederick's youth was, in a great measure, passed with his relative the Duc de Bouillon at Sédan, and there he, naturally enough, learned to cultivate French literature and the French language, to say nothing of French ideas, at the cost of the more purely Saxon element. Frederick, by his grandmother, had Bourbon blood in his veins, and it is, perhaps, no wonder that, naturally refined as he was (incontestably far more partaking of the Gaul than of the Teuton), and subjected to the influence of his wife, one of the most refined women of her day, it is no wonder, we repeat, if the elegancies of French habits seemed preferable in the eyes of the young Elector, to the rude customs prevalent among German princes at the period we allude to, the "simple patriarchism of German manners," as most German authors style it, simple and patriarchal! We read in the account given by the Venetian Ambassador, Badoer, sent by his

Government to a diet held at Augsburg, towards the close of the sixteenth century:—"In Germany so much is eaten and so much more is drank, that any German who may show moderation at table can only be reputed in ill health."

Against the brutality, the drunkenness, the disorderly conduct of every species of the German princes, we find the authority and the example of even their best and greatest emperors unavailing. Maximilian, Charles V,* Rudolph, Ferdinand, all try in vain to combat drunkenness especially, as being the first root of all the abominations practised by the sovereigns who,

* Upon Charles V's own sobriety there are various opinions. Melancthon writes to a friend of his:—"His domestic life is a model of purity, regularity, and moderation. On the other hand, Inocenigo, one of the Italian ambassadors, says of him: "He has so little regularity in his way of living, and eats and drinks so enormously, that most people regard him as a prodigy; it is true, he only eats one repast a day." Another eye-witness relates, that he had often seen the Emperor dine at the Diets of Speyer, Worms, Augsburg, and also in Brussels, and his description is sufficiently curious:—"The Emperor," he observes, "when the meal was served, always caused the surrounding young princes and counts to set out before him four services, of six dishes each; as, by degrees, the covers were removed, he would shake his head at the things that displeased him, and nodding it at the others draw them towards him. Many a seemly pasty, many a dainty plate of game, many a spicy confect, has been thus sent away, whilst he would keep by him a roast sucking pig, a calf's head, or some such food. He would allow nothing to be carved for him, nor made over

upon all great occasions, formed the Imperial Court. Recommendations were promulgated, commands and edicts issued, fines instituted, temperance societies attempted—nothing was of any use, and the following remark is made by a contemporary:—"In recalling to mind the banquets and festivities of the Diet of Ratisbon in 1541, what princes do I find foremost in the excesses of the table? nearly all those who, a few years before, had subscribed to the temperance ordinances—as, for instance, the Elector Palatine, the Dukes Frederick, Otho, Henry, Lewis, and Wilhelm of Bavaria, nay, even the Landgraf of Hesse. Did not also Philip, the

much use of a knife himself, but only cut so many bits of bread and so many morsels of the dish before him as he might require. Then, where he found a bit he particularly liked, he would detach it with a knife, or with his fingers (!), and then holding the plate under his chin, would eat away so comfortably and so cleanly, that it was a treat to see the pleasure it evidently gave him. When he desired to drink he nodded to his physicians, who always stood before the table, and they proceeded to the buffet, and from two jugs poured out what filled a large crystal cup that held a good measure and a half. That he emptied thrice during dinner, and emptied so that not a drop remained, even though during the operation he might take breath more than once; still he never took the cup from his mouth. He spoke no word at table, nor paid any attention to the buffoons who carried on their farcical trade all the while of the repast."

emperor's own son,* at the Diet of Augsburg in 1550, do all he could to make himself popular by drinking as deeply as possible? The French Ambassador, then resident at the Diet, Marillac, wrote thereupon:—'Yielding to the suggestions of the Elector of Treves, Philip invited all the princes to a banquet. He tried to show how good a pupil he was, and drank two or three times more than he could support, which made his tutor give utterance to the liveliest hope of seeing him, if he continued on in that way, succeed in winning the hearts of all true Germans.'"

The same contemporary writer informs us, that the efforts of the emperors were, from time to time, seconded by the princes, as at one period by the Elector Palatine Louis V, the Archbishop of Treves, the Dukes Frederick and William of Upper and Lower Bavaria, the Bishops Konrad of Wurtzburg, Wilhelm of Strasburg, Philip of Treisingen, George of Speyer, the Markgraf Kasimir of Brandenburg, and the Landgraf Philip of Hesse, with some twenty others, who all swore to oppose themselves against the frightful excess to which drinking was carried on in all German courts. They reserved

* It is not easy to conceive the sombre Philip II of Spain in this convivial character.

themselves, however, the right of drinking, they and their followers, whenever they should chance to find themselves in a state of Northern Germany, in Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, in Saxony even, or in Pomerania, "countries" they observed, "wherein drinking and toast-giving are such established things that it would be utterly impossible to dream of eluding or even moderating them."

Intemperance had risen to such a height in Germany that there was a positive drinking-code in force throughout the land, and, geographically speaking, the territory was divided into different drink-provinces ("Trinkländer"), recognized by the laws! Suabia, Bavaria, Franconia, and the counties of the Upper Rhine, were among the ever-drink provinces. The sovereigns of the more ancient ones gave to these their drinking mottoes, and drinking regulations; debauchery of every sort may be said to have reigned over the whole country. Notwithstanding the attempts made to combat this barbarous state of things, the emperor himself was unable to count upon the proper respect due to his imperial presence. Markgraf Albert of Brandenburg, the "Knolinbacker," as he was surnamed, a kind of favourite of Charles V, was hardly ever known at a Diet or Sovereign Assembly to have been able to refrain from the

most unequivocal marks of complete intoxication; and Marillac, the French Ambassador, writes, in 1550, from Augsburg: "Duke Albert of Bavaria (Albert V), a son-in-law of King Ferdinand's, has but one only quality in the world that I can discover: he knows how to drink and cast the dice."

In a collection of private letters written from Augsburg in the last years of the sixteenth century, we find the following narration, well fitted to show to what a pitch intemperance was carried by German princes:—

"As I reached Nuremberg on one occasion (1550), I happened to stop at an inn where the Duke of Leignitz had also put up, he having some suit to the Emperor in an affair concerning his father. The whole time of his stay he never once ceased being drunk; and in order to make sure of company, he drew about him the household of Markgraf Johann (the counsellors sent to accompany him having refused to be his pot-companions), and with them managed to keep up a most infernal life of debauchery. One day, after they had all had a mighty carouse together, forth went the Duke with six of the Markgraf's men; each had cut off the right sleeve from doublet and shirt, so as to leave the arm quite bare to view; their hose were untied; they were without shoes, and with uncovered

heads; and the duke, marching in front, chased before him the Nuremberger town-band, which he forced to play with all its might; so they went along the streets till they reached the lodging of Duke Henry of Brunswick. In one hand the duke held dice; in the other, a few pieces of gold. No wonder if all the world rushed out of doors and windows, and if foreigners of all nations, Spaniards, Italians, and who not, crowded to gape at this German Ebriacus! The wine they had swallowed was, however, so potent, that by the time they had mounted up to the Brunswicker's apartments, he of Liegnitz fell forward with both arms stretched out towards Duke Henry. Out of one hand escaped the gold; in the other he still contrived to hold a die; speech was beyond all his efforts, and having apparently well convinced himself thereof, he just tumbled down, and rolled under the table! The Brunswicker called some of his noble servitors, and four of these carried off the princely drunkard to bed. The emperor has expressed himself highly incensed at the fact of our countrymen always affording to other nations such cause of bitter irony and contemptuous blame. Here is another proof of what intemperance engenders, and how one sin is followed immediately by another; not," adds the writer, "that I will stain my

paper with a recital of the other and yet greater offences committed by the duke and those of his same station and habits."

With such examples as these before him (and we have only quoted one out of corresponding hundreds), it cannot, we repeat, be wondered at that Frederick V should have preferred French refinement of manners and intellectual cultivation, to the "simple patriarchalism" of his paternal ancestors. Everything contributed to foster these tendencies in the young Elector: his mother's high education, and austere principles; his own residence at the Court of Sédan; the Bourbon blood he had inherited, and his marriage with the granddaughter of Mary Queen of Scots,—a lady as familiar with the thousand elegancies of upper-civilized existence as was her fair and unfortunate ancestress herself. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at if the Princess Palatine manifested throughout life manners, tendencies, and tastes, which were, in fact, inspired her in her very cradle, and which, more or less, with the solitary exception of her brother, Charles Louis, form the characteristics of the several members of her family.

When the battle of Weissenberg had irrevocably decided the fate of Frederick's Bohemian sovereignty, the castle and town of Heidelberg ceased to be a residence fitting for his mother,

and the children he had left to her care. Louise Julienne of Nassau, with her infant charges, fled from the already invaded palatinate, and took refuge with her son-in-law, George William of Brandenburg, in Berlin. To the Markgraf's dominions hastened also, the exiled King and Queen of Bohemia; and in the dilapidated fortress of Custrin, lent to her, as we have said, with the worst grace imaginable, Elizabeth Stuart gave birth, on Christmas-day, 1620, to her son Maurice, named after the then reigning Stadtholder, her firm friend. Rupert, born at Prague the year before, was also with his mother; and the courageous queen, scarcely recovered from her confinement, hastened to accompany her lord upon his journey to Holland, whither lured him the hope of obtaining aid wherewith to reconquer his fair palatinal inheritance.

Charles Louis, Elizabeth, and Maurice, were left with the dowager Electress, and for the moment, Frederick Henry and Rupert only followed their parents' errant course. However early may have been the age at which the Princess Palatine was separated from her grandmother—however evanescent may be deemed the impressions of early childhood—it is certain that nothing in after-life ever entirely destroyed the ground-work laid by Juliana of Nassau, in

the education of her son's eldest daughter. The serious part of Elizabeth's character, the gravity to which she so well knew later how to ally all the graces of more brilliant acquirements, was rooted in her during her stay with her so-dearly loved grandmother; and from this period dates the origin of that peculiar tone of mind and manner which made some of those who approached the Princess of Bohemia observe that she showed more than one point of resemblance to her illustrious ancestor William of Orange.

When Elizabeth joined her mother at the Hague, she had to make acquaintance with a new sister, Louise Hollandine, and the work of scholastic teaching for the whole family began. I use the word "scholastic," because the teaching Elizabeth had received up to this period was not exactly that of the schools, but regarded rather the formation of mind and character than the acquisition of accomplishments and learning.

Though none of her brothers and sisters ever attained to the literary and scientific celebrity of the Princess Palatine, yet all were distinguished in some way, and in early life all evinced considerable aptitude for whatever species of learning was sought to be instilled into them. Frederick Henry, especially, was from the beginning remarkable for his intelligence, and at eight or nine years old, his letters were those of

a person of double that age. To his grandmother Juliana, in Berlin, he writes constantly, inquiring after the progress made by his brother, Charles Louis, and he already perceives and acknowledges the great superiority of his sister Elizabeth, without the slightest tinge of jealousy, or of any sentiment save that of the most affectionate satisfaction. On the evening of the 17th of January, 1629, all the hopes raised by this young prince's generous nature, all his promises of future greatness, were destroyed and blighted. A wave of the Zuyder Zee bore him off to a watery tomb. On the spot where he fell, in the bloom of fifteen years, stood his bereaved and heart-stricken parent, the Elector Frederick, and the winds of evening brought to his ears the agonizing cry of "Help me, father!" when it was past his power to save.

CHAPTER VII.

DEATH OF THE ELECTOR PALATINE—THE "CANAILLE OF HOLLAND"—CHARLES I AND HIS SISTER—THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA'S FIRMNESS—HER GRACE—THE PRINCE AND PRINCESSES OF THE PALATINE FAMILY—THEIR TALENTS—GERARD HONTHORST—LOUISE HOLLANDINE — DIFFERENCE OF TASTES BETWEEN ELIZABETH STUART AND HER ELDEST DAUGHTER—BEAUTY OF THE YOUNGER ONES — PEACE OF PRAGUE — EXCLUSION OF THE PALATINE PRINCES FROM THEIR HEREDITARY RIGHTS—MATRIMONIAL PROJECTS OF THE KING OF POLAND—REFUSAL OF THE PRINCESS OF BOHEMIA.

SCARCELY had Elizabeth reached her thirteenth year when the one decisive blow was struck which utterly crushed all the hopes of the unfortunate Palatine family. The King of Sweden was killed at the battle of Lutzen, and but a few days after, Frederick V died at Mayence, of a broken heart.* The unhappy Queen of

* In a letter, written in the winter of 1632 by Mr. Pary to Lord Brooke, we find the Elector's death mentioned in the following terms:—"If the King of Bohemia be dead, the

Bohemia received the news of the loss of all she best loved on earth at the very time when she was hourly expecting the end of all her troubles, and the triumphal return to her dear home at Heidelberg. Nothing can exceed the straits and privations to which Elizabeth Stuart and her children were now condemned, or the strength of mind and dignity wherewith the exiled queen supported her misfortunes. The Dutch States had, in the commencement, awarded to the Elector the more than liberal allowance of ten thousand florins a month, but little by little they found the months and years somewhat long, during which the fugitive prince seemed to rely solely upon their assistance, and by degrees they gave signs of dissatisfaction and impatience.

That Frederick V disliked everything in the shape of Republicanism and Republican Institutions, is not difficult to believe; but whatever may have been the conduct of the Dutch, whatever even the niggardliness of their behaviour in regard to the support they accorded to his

Emperor hath a great advantage thereby, because there is none now living but himself that hath any title to that so long controverted crown. Besides, upon that king's death, our king and state are obliged to do more for a nephew than for a brother-in-law, and more likewise for a widow than for a wife."

family, the King of Bohemia, reflecting as he might have done that, without that support, he and his would have been literally deprived of all means of existence, can scarcely be justified in having so often repeated—"Heaven deliver me from the canaille of Holland!"

After the death of Frederick, and the consequent certainty acquired by every one that the affairs of the Palatine family must necessarily remain for an unlimited period in statu quo, all those who had afforded them hitherto any pecuniary support, drew back more and more, and the sums given by Holland and England put together, barely sufficed for the daily wants of Elizabeth Stuart's diminished household. Still, when urged by her brother, Charles I, to repair to England, and take up her abode at his court, the Electress uniformly refused, saying that she was a German prince's widow, and must conform to German customs, which did not admit of such a change of habits and country; and that, besides, no matter how ardent her wish to revisit the home of her youth, she must sacrifice it until the day when her children should be either positively restored to their legitimate rights and inheritance, or on the high road to be so. This firmness of mind, and the cheerfulness of temper to which it was united, made the Queen of Bohemia the constant comfort and

encouragement of her family under the trying circumstances to which they were destined to submit. Her own happiness, there is every reason to suppose, was cut by the root and for ever destroyed, from the hour of her husband's death. The wedded life of Frederick V and his Elizabeth had been what it seldom is with princes; and such was the mutual love and attachment of the royal couple, that even Juliana of Nassau, who totally differed from her daughter-in-law on most political points, forgot, while witnessing the happiness conferred on her son by his wife's affection, that to that wife's ambition might be ascribed Frederick's downfall and ultimate ruin.

The Elector Palatine was as inferior to his beautiful consort, as was the latter, in her turn, to her own daughter, Elizabeth; but there was in the sister of Charles I, a royal grace which not even their worst enemies have ever denied to the Stuarts. Her daughters were all remarkable in many ways. Sophia of Hanover was said, years after, to be "the most perfect lady in Europe," and the Princess Palatine had a dignity of carriage which we have heard Sorbière describe as "heroic," but there was a something in Elizabeth Stuart which, to the last, surpassed them all—that something, which in her ancestress, the ill-fated Queen of Scots,

imposed respect, nay, almost awe, upon the very gaolers who were appointed to guard her—upon the headsman himself before whom only, upon this earth, the undaunted descendant of the Guises ever bowed her lordly head.

After the death of their father, the Princes of the Palatine family exchanged, one after the other, the peaceful habits of their mother's home for the more varied scene of the world of adventure and war. The three elder brothers, Charles Louis, Rupert, and Maurice, have left their trace in the history of Europe; of the two younger, Edward and Philip (mere infants, one aged six and the other four at the time of the Elector's demise), we shall have to occupy ourselves later in the course of these memoirs. Four daughters, Elizabeth, Louisa, Henrietta, and Sophia, were grouped around the Queen of Bohemia in her exile, and as they grew up, compensated by their beauty, their talents, and their grace, for the material comforts (not to speak of luxuries) that were wanting in their mother's shadow of a court. All were great linguists, uniting to a perfect knowledge of the classic tongues, the no less perfect possession of more modern idioms; all spoke equally well French, English, Spanish, and Dutch, besides their own native German. Painting was also in high honour amongst the princesses, who were more or less all pupils

of the famous Gerard Honthorst. Elizabeth Stuart herself took lessons from this master, whose immense reputation at the Hague depended not exclusively on his pictorial skill, but also on his amiable personal qualities, and on his brilliant wit. The Princess Palatine appears to have profited least of all by Honthorst's instructions, whereas the sister next in age carried so far her proficiency in the art he taught that to this day the paintings of Louise Hollandine have a value in collectors' eyes nearly equal to those of her master.

This preference of science to art on the part of her eldest daughter, seems to have established between the Queen of Bohemia and the Princess Palatine a want of sympathy which, nevertheless, we cannot characterize as some writers have done, by the term estrangement or even coldness. The mother appreciated fully her daughter's real worth, and upon all serious matters, such as religion, and the line of conduct to be pursued by the children of Frederick V, the two princesses lived in perfect harmony of opinion, but in tastes and occupations, it is likewise true that they had perhaps no single one in common. The grand-daughter of Mary Queen of Scots loved music passionately, in which art her daughter attained to no proficiency whatever, and, on the other hand, the scientific researches of the Prin-

cess Palatine awakened no interest whatever in Elizabeth Stuart, whose elegant nature revolted more especially from any thing in the shape of those chemical or surgical experiments wherein the friend of Descartes is said to have delighted. The Princess Palatine had also small love for the sports of the field so dear to the widowed Electress; flutter of hawk or blast of horn had no power to animate her, and the most exciting hunt followed on the back of Arabia's noblest steed was insufficient to quicken one pulsation of her heart. These were grave differences, especially to a woman of Elizabeth Stuart's nature. Admirable as she undoubtedly was, and really superior in many respects, she was not so intellectual, and her tastes led her rather to the lighter than to the more solid branches of instruction. Her liking for literature and for the arts was too strong for us to allow of her being called frivolous, but she was incontestably superficial, which superficiality she carried as those of her race were wont to carry everything—magnificently.

The Queen of Bohemia, too, was partial to beauty in all around her, and of her four daughters Elizabeth was, by all accounts, the least beautiful. Not that she was by any means misfavoured by nature, but the charm of her appearance lay more in the sweet expression of

her face, and required to be discovered, whereas in her sisters, Louisa especially, beauty stood revealed, striking with instantaneous admiration all beholders. For Louise Hollandine, the partiality of the mother has been generally said to be excessive, so much so indeed as to induce some historians to pretend that the Elector, Charles Louis, reproached her with it.

But whatever apparent preference a greater conformity of tastes may have caused between the Electress and her younger daughters, a sure proof of the solid attachment existing between her and the Princess Palatine is given by the conduct of the latter in the affair of her proposed marriage with the King of Poland. Her fifteenth year scarcely more than completed, she refused to buy a crown at the sacrifice of her religious convictions, and by the adoption of a creed to which her mother was violently opposed. Ladislas IV was at that time one of the greatest of European monarchs, and the splendour of the station that awaited his bride was undeniable. Besides this, the moment of the demand he made for the hand of the Princess of Bohemia was well calculated to induce her to accept it, for the Peace of Prague had just set its seal upon the ruins of the Palatine family by excluding Charles Louis from his birthright. It was decreed that if they made a "befitting sub-

mission" to the Emperor, the children of the banished Frederick V should, as also his widow, be provided for "by the imperial bounty," though not as having any right to such provision. Under these circumstances the alliance with the King of Poland was most desirable, and in a merely political point of view the refusal of it was scarcely justifiable,—but beyond the worldly advantage of her family, Elizabeth Stuart placed the creed for whose defence her husband had lost all, and deferring to her mother's wishes as well as to her own convictions, the Princess Palatine renounced throne, crown, and royal splendour, rather than abjure the faith she believed to be the true one. In the next chapter we will enter into the particulars of this negotiation with Poland, the details of which have been hitherto but little known.

CHAPTER VIII.

BAILLET'S ERRONEOUS OPINION ON THE PRINCESS PALATINE'S REFUSAL OF THE KING OF POLAND—POLISH CHRONICLES—LADISLAS PRETENDS TO THE THRONE OF SWEDEN — HIS AMBASSADOR ZAWADZKI—FIRST MENTION OF THE PRINCESS OF BOHEMIA—HUMRAD—OBSTACLES TO THE MARRIAGE—GREAT QUALITIES OF LADISLAS—DISSENSIONS WITH THE ARISTOCRACY AND CLERGY—PAUL PIASECKI—THE DIET OF WARSAW—RADZIWILL—"PESTILENTIAL WORDS!"—THE KING'S PROMISES—ARCHBISHOP KANUKORSKI AND QUEEN ANNA—THE "HERETICAL NURSE"—THE "ENGLISHWOMAN!"—THE "MATRIMONIUM INFAME"—THE KING'S DEFEAT — HIS PROPOSITIONS FOR ELIZABETH'S CONVERSION — INSTRUCTION TO ZAWADZKI—HENRIETTA MARIA—THE SECRET DIVULGED — CHARLES LOUIS AND RUPERT IN LONDON — THE PALATINE'S LETTER TO HIS MOTHER—CHARLES LOUIS'S OPINION ON THE KING OF POLAND — RUSSDORF'S ACCUSATIONS — THE PRINCESS OF BOHEMIA'S OWN CONDUCT — HER ANSWER TO ZAWADZKI — MARRIAGE OF LADISLAS IV—WHY THE PRINCESS PALATINE NEVER MARRIED.

BAILLET, in his "Life of Descartes," would fain have it believed that the Princess Palatine refused the hand of Ladislas IV out of pure devotion to her philosophical studies, and that science alone bore away the victory over interest and ambition. This was so far from being the

case that she did not make acquaintance with Descartes until nearly ten years later, and until this acquaintance was made did not, whatever might be her private predilections, manifest that all-absorbing love of the abstruse and speculative sciences which so distinguished her in after life.

The most part of German and French writers have spoken slightly enough of the negotiations for a marriage between Elizabeth and the King of Poland, and it is only within the last few years that researches made among the Polish historians and chroniclers have thrown a fresh light upon this important passage in the life of the Princess of Bohemia.*

When Ladislas IV, on the 13th November, 1632, mounted the Polish throne, his first intention was, as a lineal male descendant of the House of Wasa, to establish, during the minority of Gustavus Adolphus' daughter Christina, his right to the Crown of Sweden. Nothing daunted by the proclamation which called Christina to the throne, although but six years old, in 1633, Ladislas dispatched an ambassador to the different Courts in Europe, to obtain their adhesion and assistance for his plans of usurpation.

* *Vide* Guhrauer. The information given by this author is considerable, and derived principally from sources hitherto unknown, from Polish writers, and from documents belonging to the state archives in Berlin.

John Zawadzki, starvost of Schwetz, was sent to England, Holland, and even to Sweden itself, to try and raise up a party in favour of Ladislas. To the Protestant sovereigns generally Zawadzki was instructed to represent how fervently his master desired a union of the churches, and how determined he was to leave full liberty of conscience to the Swedes, and permit them to follow all their religious traditions; to Charles I, in particular, he was to observe that all legitimate monarchs were interested in his success, he being the legitimate male heir to the Swedish Crown; and, finally, he was not to forget, when visiting the Hague, to assure the Queen of Bohemia that every effort would be put forth by him to reinstate the Palatine family in their possessions. Accordingly, the day after Zawadzki's arrival at the Hague, (April, 1633,) he had an audience of the exiled queen, to whom (French being the language employed in their conversation) he imparted his royal master's views and offers of aid. But, then, neither he nor the King of Poland knew or troubled themselves with anything concerning the Princess Palatine, who is first made a subject of discourse and discussion in a despatch addressed to the King himself by the diplomatist, and part of which is conceived in the following terms:—"A son of the Deputy

Humrad came to pay me a visit, saying his father wished to have a private interview with me. I fixed the ensuing morning, and the first question the old man asked of me was, 'whether it was true that your Majesty projected an alliance with the House of Austria?' When I had answered that I knew of no such intention, the excellent old gentleman began to enumerate the many advantages your Majesty would derive from a marriage with a daughter of the late Elector Palatine, and niece to the King of England. 'For so near a relative,' opined he, 'the British king would assuredly afford material help of any sort, and our cause in Sweden would be supported by his arms.' Then he entered into an endless eulogy of the Princess, speaking of her beauty, talents, and learning, as beyond all praise, and added that she was likewise of most remarkable piety."

Here, then, is the first mention made of Elizabeth to her royal suitor; and Zawadzki, after having promised "the Deputy Humrad" to consult his sovereign on the subject, goes to London to continue the other portion of his mission. On his return from England, some few months later (August, 1633,) the Polish ambassador had a formal interview with John Joachim von Russdorf, the attached friend and

minister of the Palatine family, and officially charged him to open a matrimonial negotiation, on his master's part, with the Queen of Bohemia.*

But the difficulties of the marriage became evident almost at once. Without speaking of the great difference of age between a bride of fifteen and a bridegroom of past forty (a fact little thought of in princely alliances), the difference of faith raised up an obstacle which could only be superseded in two ways: either Poland must consent to her king's contracting a mixed marriage, or Elizabeth must be converted to Catholicism. Both ways were attempted, and neither could succeed. Nor was this the first time Ladislas found religion an impediment to his matrimonial speculations; before his accession to the throne, the same cause had prevented his marriage with the fair Mary Eleanor of Brandenburg, destined to become the wife of Gustavus Adolphus.

Ladislas may be said to have been the last king under whom Poland was still accounted as an equal amongst the other nations of Europe;

* The instructions given to Zawadzki are dated, "Warsaw, 20th January, 1633." Most part of all these and the following details are to be found in Godfrey Leuguich's "History of the Prussian-Polish Provinces under Ladislas IV," and in Paul Piasecki's "Chronica Gestorum in Europa singulterium."

he was as remarkable for his military and political capacity as for his extreme and (in that age) rare tolerance in religious matters and opinions; but this latter quality was one of the primary causes of the opposition he encountered on the part of the aristocracy and the more zealous of the clergy. It was not mere policy only, but a strong inclination towards Elizabeth, whom he had never seen, which led him into the long and obstinate struggle he undertook against the powers of the realm, and wherein he was so completely baffled upon all points. The very small group of tolerant Bishops, having at their head Paul Piasecki, bishop of Ramanica, were loudly censured and accused even of heresy by the majority; and stormy was the Diet of Warsaw, (November, 1635,) in which Piasecki had the courage to develop his opinions in the ensuing words:—"It is needless to do more than follow the old-established custom of applying to the Pope, who constantly accords his dispensation for the union of a catholic and a heretic; this dispensation is rarely refused when the manifest good of the country demands it—(as in this case, where the support of the King of England is at that price)—or when, failing all hope of the heretic party being converted to the catholic faith, the certainty exists of there being no danger of the catholic one's yielding to heretical

influence. Besides this, in the choice of a wife, some attention must be paid to the promptings of a real and honest affection, for by a too great neglect of taking such feelings into account, and by too great severity, many fathers of private families have been sorely punished in their progeny, and many princely dynasties have been plunged into dissensions and want, nay, have even been driven to irretrievable ruin."

Radziwill relates, that the day after this speech, Piasecki having gone to visit the Seneschal of Cracow, the latter refused him his hand, exclaiming:—"How do you dare show yourself before the eyes of men after your pestilential words and sentiments of yesterday have stained the episcopal dignity?"

Radziwill recounts also the part he himself took personally in the matter of the king's projected marriage, and speaking of the dealings in the Senate and the Diet, says:—"I, with my usual freedom and earnestness, upheld the rights of religion, and said it was better far to secure the favour of the King of all Kings than that of the King of England;"* and in these sentiments he was met by the more notable part of the nation.

* "Zbior pamietnikon historycynich odawny Polszcze przez Niemezewicza"; and also "Pamietuiki Alboychta Stanislaida X. Radziwilla."

The attempts made by Ladislas to obtain the consent of the senators were vain, and equally so his trial of a Diet, which he caused to be assembled, as we have already seen, at Warsaw. He promised that his future wife (if their union was agreed to) should in no way offend his orthodox subjects by her heretical practices. She was to be denied even a private chapel, and no reformed minister was to enter the precincts of the palace, nor was any heretic lady to be admitted about her person. These assurances were given by the Sub-Chancellor of the Crown the day before the meeting of the Diet (on the 29th November, 1635), in presence of the Archbishop of Gnesen and the Bishop of Cracow. But the archbishop declared that he did not believe one word of all these promises; that every one knew what was the power of a woman over her husband, and that, supposing this influence to be what he feared, who was to answer for the king's keeping of his word? and what redress remained if he chose to break it? Radziwill, who was also present, went yet further, and flatly affirmed his doubt of the sovereign's sincerity. "He swore," said he, "a vast number of things at his coronation, and none of them are executed; yet where is our resource?"

The religious tolerance of Ladislas was re-

called to mind; and the bishops dwelt upon the fact of his having had a "heretical nurse," and upon the famous letter written to his mother, Queen Anna, by Archbishop Kannkorski, wherein, replying to her majesty's announcement of the birth of a son, he expressed his "deep sorrow" that the new-born babe should have "pressed his dumb lips to the breast of a heretic." The archbishop, they all agreed, had been visited by the spirit of prophecy, for it was well known that Ladislas had invariably disposed of all places and positions in favour of those who belonged to the reformed creed, and now he was all fire and flame for a marriage with a daughter of the man who had upheld heresy to the death! It was not to be borne, and all means were to be employed to prevent "the Englishwoman," as she was called, from becoming Queen of Poland. Radziwill affirmed that one of the king's confidants had surprised him in his own apartment, weeping at the obstinate resistance of the Senate, and swearing that "he would go all lengths if the opposition continued!" By "all lengths," he was understood to threaten a marriage with one of his own Polish subjects, a step which had been met by the most determined denial of conduct by the authorities of the State. But no threats were to produce any effect, and at all risks and

all costs "the Englishwoman" was to be kept aloof from the throne.

At the next sitting of the Senate (a private sitting) the Bishop of Plack went so far as to stigmatize the alliance with the Princess Palatine as a "matrimonium infame," letting alone the impolicy of the measure, which broke the ancient bonds of friendship between Austria and Poland. At this the king's indignation knew no bounds; starting from his seat—"Oh! for some one," cried he, "who would shut yonder villanous mouth with his sword!" Mad with rage, the king retired to his apartments, uttered reproach after reproach against the clergy, and passed the whole night in tears. To the next meeting (3rd December) Ladislas came with eyes red and swollen, after having kept the senators waiting for him considerably; for he dreaded this assembly, in which the temporal members of the senate were to unite with the spiritual ones, and the vote was to be decisive. The king's anxiety was well founded; the majority of the Woiwoides was against him. The Woiwoide of Rawa made a speech threatening Ladislas with eternal damnation if he fulfilled his project, and thereupon, incensed, the latter rose and went away.

When, however, clergy and laity, bishops, senators, and Diet, had decided against the pos-

sibility of the marriage, the king appeared to recognize the vanity of all his efforts. Coming straight up to Radziwill, in the next meeting of the senate:—"You repudiated my choice," said he, "but you pointed out no other;" to which all present hastened to reply that whosoever the king should choose (provided she were but a catholic) would be welcome to the powers of the realm. This we take to have been what Ladislas had aimed at. There was some talk of the Princess Marie de Gonzague, daughter to the Duc de Nevers, whom, in fact, Ladislas did many years after take for his second wife; but that was not his object at the moment. The only thing to be done now was, to induce the Princess Palatine to embrace the Catholic faith, and, to obtain this end, Ladislas put forth all energy and all his intelligence. Zawadzki was again sent over to England (in 1636—the negotiations had already lasted three years, and Elizabeth was nearly eighteen), and the following instructions given to him:*

* Upon the first visit of Zawadzki, we find in a letter from Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Pickering, dated 1633, the following:—"Here came to town on Monday last, ambassador from Poland, and had audience upon Tuesday. He is not twenty years of age, but the most confident man in his carriage and speech that I ever saw. He is one of the greatest and richest men in that kingdom, for his revenue is said to be £200,000 sterling per annum; and

"When he has had his official audience of the king, the ambassador must ask for a private one from the queen, and to her majesty must say that the King of Poland has by no means given up the idea of uniting himself to the eldest daughter of the late Elector; but that the execution of this plan is rendered difficult by the resolution of the Polish senate not to hear of an heretical queen upon the throne; the less so, too, as for centuries none but a Catholic sovereign has reigned there; and to infringe the rule, in the present state of things in Europe, might be hurtful to the interests of religion. The King of Poland, consequently, hopes in the Queen of England for obtaining from her niece, the Princess Palatine, the conversion of the latter to the Catholic faith; and suggests that, to facilitate matters, her majesty should, under some pretext that may appear natural to the Queen of Bohemia, invite the young princess upon a visit to her uncle.

"The conversion would then doubtless fol-

that he is able to bring 40,000 horse into the field; and he is a very good Protestant (?), and one who much honoured the King of Sweden."

It is probable that Sir George was mistaken in his assertion touching Zawadzki's religion, for, if he had been a Protestant he would scarcely have been chosen by Ladislas as an instrument for the conversion of Elizabeth to Catholicism.

low easily enough. If the Queen of England could only give the simple assurance that her niece would abjure her heresy, without further binding herself, it might be possible at once to commence the matrimonial negotiations. In case such assurance could really not be given, the queen would merely be entreated to keep the whole matter secret, and the ambassador would answer for no unpleasant consequences accruing therefrom to her majesty."

Over and over was Zawadzki reminded that he must proceed prudently, and labour to convince the queen of the fact, that Poland would hear of none save a Catholic sovereign, and that he must tell Henrietta Maria how entirely the king counted upon her piety and zeal for bringing all to a good end. Meanwhile, he was to dispatch his affairs with the French Court (whither he was also accredited) with sufficient rapidity to enable him to be in London again, at the period of the Princess Palatine's visit. If he obtained the desired assurance that the princess really would change her faith, he was then to remain in England, and acquaint the king immediately with the progress of the business. Should, however, the Princess Palatine refuse all thought of conversion, and the queen give a positive assurance thereof, then nothing would remain for the ambassador but

to take his leave, expressing his deep regret that it lay out of his sovereign's power to espouse any save a Catholic princess.

However ardent might be the king's desire to obtain in the end the Princess of Bohemia for his wife, not all his striving could accomplish it. Even Henrietta Maria, zealous Catholic as she was, did not seem to like the work of converting her niece; and it has been opined that she was anything but anxious for the Polish alliance, for the very good reason that she was averse from every chance of restoring the Palatine house to its former "high estate." Nowhere do we discover any trace of an invitation to the Princess Palatine to visit her uncle's court. All the correspondences of the times mention repeatedly the probability of a visit to London of the Queen of Bohemia, and her arrival or non-arrival is for months the topic of discourse and speculation in the circles about the court, but not the remotest mention is ever made of her daughter. Neither was the secret so well kept as Ladislas seemed to wish, for the whole came, little by little, to the ears of Charles Louis, the Prince Palatine, then in London with his brother Rupert, a youth of seventeen. The Palatine, as head of his house, was, above all, anxious for whatever might restore to that house its former greatness, and he seems to

have held to the union of his sister with the King, whom he accuses of having weakly yielded to the will of his subjects. "As to what regards the Polish business," writes he to his mother (16th May, 1636,) "I really do not know what to think. The king has gone so far, and said so much to the king my uncle (Charles I,) and to your majesty, that it would be an offence to you both, and a shame to himself, if he were now to withdraw. In all his letters to the king here, he expresses a longing for this union, and he surely need not depend upon the consent of the Polish States; yet it seems he wishes for this so much, that in all ways he seeks to act with their agreement, and therefore would try to make Elizabeth change her faith. I imagine that if the Polish Ambassador does not treat with your Majesty directly, it is because he hopes that the King my uncle will be less decided than you on the point of religion, and it is said he has special instructions to the queen, my aunt. But you might tell him, in good truth, that the king will no more consent to a conversion than will your Majesty, and as to the queen she is far too discreet to meddle in such matters."*

Charles Louis had at this time but just reached his majority, and was not yet the

* Bromley—Royal Letters.

sharp-witted and somewhat unscrupulous, the selfish and miserly personage, he later showed himself to be; but we are much mistaken or he would easily have forgiven his sister's adoption of a creed not his own, had that step sufficed to ensure his recovery of his inheritance. Those of the Palatine family who openly regretted the Polish alliance, avowed that, in their minds, Ladislas did wrong in not espousing Elizabeth against the will of his subjects; the question of the bride's conversion was not taken into discussion amongst them, and we have seen by Charles Louis's assumption that Ladislas need not depend on the consent of the Polish States, how very little the relative position of a King of Poland to his people was understood by the exiled princes and their friends. Even Russdorf, the counsellor of the family, and a man whose peculiar education and studies should have taught him better, accuses Ladislas of downright insincerity, because he was, in fact, a prisoner to the institutions of his realm. Russdorf does not hesitate to affirm, that from first to last he had, in his own mind, set down the conduct of the Polish king as a most consummate piece of falsehood and hypocrisy!

And Elizabeth herself? She appears to have been far less preoccupied or agitated by

the fluctuations of her matrimonial chances with so great a monarch as Ladislas, than were the other members of her family; and, as to changing her religion, it is quite certain that the idea was never once regarded by her as admissible. A modern author, but whose word carries conviction with it,* relates, that as the Polish ambassador returned from England, he revisited the Hague, and was received by the Queen of Bohemia in the midst of her family circle. Without otherwise alluding to the unsuccessful project of alliance, he turned towards Elizabeth, remarking, that her conversion would be to him the best and most agreeable news in the world; to which she replied, that she was so firmly attached to her faith that she should for ever remain true to it.

In this same year, Ladislas IV became the husband of the Archduchess Renata Cecilia of Austria, and history does not tell us of any other prince who sought the hand of the Princess of Bohemia, nor of any desire on her part to quit her state of singleness. Her distaste for marriage has even been supposed by some to be the result of a vow made to herself; but its real cause appears to us, far more truly, to be found in the daily increasing devotion of

* Söltl, "Life of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia."

Elizabeth to studies and occupations which, more than all others, wean their adepts from a just appreciation of the joys or excitements of political or domestic life.

CHAPTER IX.

FREDERICK WILLIAM OF BRANDENBURG IN HOLLAND—HIS MOTHER, ELIZABETH CHARLOTTE—HER ATTACHMENT TO THE PROTESTANT CAUSE, AND TO HER BROTHER, FREDERICK V—THE YOUNG PRINCE OF BRANDENBURG AT LEYDEN AND AT THE HAGUE—PROJECT OF A MARRIAGE BETWEEN HIM AND LOUISE HOLLANDINE—ADAM SCHWARZENBERG'S LETTER TO THE MARKGRAF-ELECTOR—THE "PACK OF WOMEN"—DEPARTURE OF FREDERICK WILLIAM FOR BERLIN—LASTING FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE PRINCESS PALATINE AND THE "GREAT ELECTOR"—MISFORTUNES OF THE YEAR 1638—RUPERT'S DEFEAT AT FLOTHE—CAPTIVITY IN VIENNA—COMMENCEMENT OF REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND — CHARLES LOUIS'S UNNATURAL CONDUCT — COMPARISON WITH HIS GREAT-GREAT-GRANDSON PHILIPPE EGALITE OF ORLEANS — REPROACHES OF ELIZABETH STUART TO HER SON — THE PRINCESS PALATINE'S REPUBLICANISM—HER ARDENT LOVE OF STUDY—PHILOSOPHIA.

Too little attention has been generally paid, when speaking of the Princess Palatine and her aversion from the married state, to a circumstance which, according to us, may have not been without a secret influence over the tendencies of her intelligence, over all the decisions and events of her future life: we allude to the

arrival of her cousin, Frederick William of Brandenburg, in Holland, in the year 1634, whilst the negotiations were yet pending with Poland. Of the same age as Elizabeth, everything in the youthful prince seemed already to presage the greatness to which he was one day to aspire; and if really any impression were ever made upon the heart of the Princess of Bohemia,—and where is the woman whose entire existence has ever passed without their being, some one moment of it, the remembrance of which suffices to draw a sigh or a pensive smile from her to her latest hour?—if, we repeat it, a softer feeling were ever awakened in Elizabeth, it is impossible to imagine any one more likely to have produced it than the future Victor of Zähobellin.

The wife of that Markgraf of Brandenburg who had begun by refusing to the fugitive queen of Bohemia the fortress of Custrin, wherein she was confined of her son Maurice, was, as we have already said, her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Charlotte, daughter of the Elector Palatine, Frederick III, and of Juliana of Nassau. To his mother's influence is to be ascribed the determination to educate Frederick William in Holland, and by no means, as some writers have not hesitated to affirm, to the intrigues of Adam Schwarzenberg, who, it has been pre-

tended, aimed only at corrupting the too-promising prince, and thought the light morals of the Dutch women best calculated to further his plans. Elizabeth Charlotte was no ordinary woman, whatever might be her defects; and as head and chief of the reformed party in Prussia, she looked upon Holland and the Nassau family as the surest guides and guardians of her son's budding energies. Besides this, she had sincerely loved her brother, the unfortunate Elector, and for his widow never ceased manifesting the strongest attachment and esteem. The Protestant party represented in the eyes of the Markgraf not only her own dearest personal convictions, but the cause to which her brother had sacrificed his life, and upon the success of which must inevitably depend the ultimate restoration of his family to their possessions and honours.

To the Queen of Bohemia, and to the Prince of Orange (Frederick Henry), the young Prince of Brandenburg came especially recommended; and in the letter to Elizabeth Stuart, the Markgravine particularly begged, that in all cases of embarrassment or difficulty, should any such occur, her sister-in-law would consent to be a mother to her nephew, and assist him with maternal counsel and support. Whilst studying at the University of Leyden, the principal recre-

ation of Frederick William consisted in his perpetual visits to his aunt and cousins at Rhenen, or at the Hague. For whole weeks together, would he sometimes even prolong his stay, and that, too, in despite of the strongly expressed displeasure of the minister Schwarzenberg, each time that he quitted the University for the more intimate enjoyment of his relatives' society, the very name of whom was hateful to Adam Schwarzenberg.

At length, between the Queen of Bohemia and her sister-in-law, the Electress of Brandenburg, sprung up a project of a closer union between the two families, and Louise Hollandine was fixed upon, by both mothers, as the proper wife for the Prince. At this moment the affair of the Polish alliance was, for the second or third time, agitated, and that with more vehemence than ever, though it may be remarked that the indifference of the Princess Palatine throughout the whole negotiation was incontestible, and only to be compared to that manifested by her cousin Frederick William at the project of a union between himself and Louise Hollandine. But the execution of this latter plan was not so easy, inasmuch as it was combined with the desire to obtain for the Prince the sovereignty of Cleves during his father's lifetime. But this could not be brought to bear, notwithstanding all the pains

taken by the Electress of Brandenburg, and the aid and abetment afforded her by the States of Cleves. A proof of this exists in the following passage of a despatch (dated Vienna) from Schwarzenberg to the Elector, wherein, alluding to his son's position at the Hague, he says:—"That the States of Cleves are also in the plot is certain; but it is to be well examined whether or not others do not stand behind and pull the wires: the Palatine House for instance, 'Messieurs les Etats,' and the pack of women."*

Nothing, however, was to be obtained from the reigning Elector, whose policy was, in this respect, precisely opposed to that of his consort; and the reply returned by Frederick William to his father's signification of his will, was an unqualified assurance of obedience without bounds. Not long after (in 1638), the Prince left Holland for Berlin, and another hope was lost to the ever-expectant Palatine race.

But who knows, during the four years he spent in constant intercourse with his fair cousins, who knows what sentiment may, unavowed even of themselves, have been mutually inspired in Frederick William and Elizabeth, the serious elevation of whose characters, the refined cultivation of whose tastes, so fitted them reciprocally

* Cosmar, "Count Adam Schwarzenberg."

to appreciate each other's excellence? Who knows, whether, had Frederick stood in the place of her royal Polish suitor, the lofty indifference of Elizabeth for the wedded state would have been so evidently manifest? or whether, had his obedience to his father's wishes cost him the elder instead of the younger bride, that obedience would have been so instantaneously, so unequivocally tendered? These are among the mysteries of royal destinies and royal hearts—those gulphs, like graves of unchronicled archives, wherein lie buried sufferings unpitied, unrevealed, and secrets whose knowledge would furnish forth countless pages of romance.

That the attachment wherewith the Prince of Brandenburg never ceased to regard his cousin, was a remarkable one, is not to be denied, and the following lines, taken from a writer, better informed, perhaps, on this point than most other authors, will prove our assertion :—

"From his youthful days of happiness spent in Holland, in the society of his cousins, wherein he so much delighted, the Prince bore away an everlasting impression; and so soon as he acceded to power, and became his own master, the duration of this impression was above all made evident towards Elizabeth. His feelings for her were unlike what he manifested for others, and the Princess of Bohemia had, through life, no

firmer protector, no warmer friend, than the great Elector. Their characters resembled each other, and some portions of their destinies were alike. The firmness with which Elizabeth refused to mount a throne, at the sacrifice of her religious convictions, would alone have won for her the unalterable esteem of her magnanimous relative. In later life, the same crown, which Elizabeth could not be brought to purchase, was twice declined by the great Elector, and upon the self-same grounds. 'He could not,' he objected, 'for any earthly advantage, abjure a faith, to which in his conscience he believed the eternal salvation of his soul was attached.'"*

Misfortune upon misfortune seemed now to add its weight to those which had already well nigh crushed the unhappy Elizabeth Stuart and her family. In this same year (1638), which witnessed the wreck of the Queen's hopes of an alliance with the House of Brandenburg, adverse fortune decreed the defeat of her two eldest sons in the battle of Flothe, on the banks of the Weser. Charles Louis, his life saved only by "hairbreadth 'scapes," returned a miserable helpless wanderer to his mother's home, whilst Rupert was borne away a prisoner to Vienna.

Towards the same period the civil war broke

* Guhrauer, "The Princess of Bohemia."

out in England, and the storm that was to sweep the Stuarts from the heights of royalty already lowered black and threatening on the horizon.

The misfortunes of one of their nearest relatives, the loss of all hope of help to themselves, were not the only miseries entailed upon the Palatine family by the commencement of the English revolution: the seeds of dissension were thereby sown in their own domestic circle; and whilst the two younger Princes, Rupert and Maurice, drew their swords in defence of their uncle, the head of their race, Charles Louis, "the Elector," as he was still always styled by his own relations, lent an interested and unnatural support to the Parliamentary cause.*

This conduct on the part of the Palatine did not the least in the world prevent the Parliament from stopping the supplies it had voted to Elizabeth Stuart; and under pretence that two members of their house had taken arms against the nation, the unhappy widow and children of the King of Bohemia saw themselves deprived of the pecuniary support that had hitherto been

* One cannot avoid being struck by the similarity of conduct of the Elector during the English Civil War, and that of his descendant, Philippe Egalité, in the French Revolution. Charles Louis stopped short of murder, it is true, but the calculations which led him to adopt the side of the question that could not be his own, were the same that actuated his great-great grandson.

lent to them by England. The behaviour of the Electress upon the occasion was, as usual, high-spirited in the extreme, and full of royal dignity. Forgetful of her mere interest, and of all save the respect due to her race and name, and the strong convictions upon the rights of kings, in which she had been brought up, Elizabeth Stuart showered down reproaches on her eldest son, for not following the chivalrous conduct of his brothers, and for the "unprincely and unprincipled" sanction he had given to revolt.*

Whether the Princess Palatine quite partook of her mother's views on this subject is uncertain. The Nassau blood ran strongly in her veins; and, added to this undeniable influence of race, she, like many persons given up to speculative science, had no great repugnance for the word Republic. The Republican theory, as she studied it in Plato and the ancients, charmed her, philosophically speaking; and what she observed of its practice, in a country whose position was a purely individual one, and where the term Republic was indissolubly associated, nay, synonymous almost with that of freedom—was not calculated to persuade her of the absolute indispensability to human happiness of monarchical institutions.

* Söltl, "Life of the Queen of Bohemia."

Still, the Princess of Bohemia was afflicted profoundly by the affliction of those nearest to her and dearest, and her love of study served now no longer merely to develop her surpassing intelligence, or occupy the hours spent by others in frivolous amusements. Philosophical speculation had become necessary to her in more serious respects, and the depth and lustre of those acquirements, which won for her from her contemporaries, the name of "The Wonder of the North," were employed by the princess herself still more to strengthen and purify her moral than her intellectual qualities. In the midst of her quick surrounding troubles—when danger and death threatened her brothers and her uncle—when the chief of her family had forgotten what was due to his father's memory—when that father's widow was exposed to privations little short of absolute want—when the last hope of help to her family was extinguished, perhaps for ever—and when the friend, who, to say the least, would have lent his firmness and energy to lighten the load which oppressed her—when her cousin, Frederick William, had left Holland in obedience to the paternal commands—then the Princess Palatine turned resolutely to science for consolation, and pursued her studies with an ardour that is still more the distinguishing characteristic of flight from a painful

anxiety, than of aspiration to some exalted aim. Study became to Elizabeth a religion, her stay and comfort; and the rule whereof she sought to form her mind and guide her actions; and to her the word "Philosophia" really meant, as to the ancients, the deep, pure, and holy love of wisdom.

CHAPTER. X.

THE ERUDITION OF WOMEN IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES—PETER MARTYR AND THE "LORDS OF THE CREATION"—GERVINUS'S OPINION—ANNA MARIA VON SCHURMANN—HER INFLUENCE ON THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH—HER TALENTS—HER EDUCATION AT UTRECHT—VOETIUS—MDLLE. SCHURMANN'S SUBMISSION TO HIM—HIS PEDANTRY—VISIT OF THE QUEEN OF POLAND, MARIE DE GONZAGUE, TO HOLLAND—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE PRINCESS PALATINE AND ANNA SCHURMANN—THE LATTER'S DEFENCE OF SCHOLASTICISM—HER DISLIKE OF THE CARTESIANS—DESCARTES' CESSATION OF INTERCOURSE WITH HER—ADMIRATION OF THE PRINCESS OF BOHEMIA FOR THE NEW METHOD—FRIENDSHIP FOR DESCARTES.

At the period when the Princess Palatine began to grow personally illustrious from her intellectual superiority, the question of feminine capacity was much agitated in Germany, and lengthy disputes were held upon the point of whether or not women ought to be allowed like men to attack every species of science, and whether indeed their natural capabilities enabled them to do so. The inferiority, or we might more properly style it, the servility of the fairer

sex had become almost an article of faith in the North; and in 1580, a famous theologian of the Reformed Church, Peter Martyr, had, in his "Loci Communes," published to the world the doctrine, that as "God's image," man being the representative of absolute sovereignty over all nature, woman, who was only man's image, was by no means to be considered as the equal of the lord of the creation, but in every single thing his inferior. By degrees, however, this barbarous opinion, more generally admitted than would be believed, gave way, and early even in the sixteenth century, more liberal and juster ideas prevailed upon the intelligence and vocation of women. At the University of Leipsic, under the Presidency of Jacob Thomasius, there were even held conferences on the subject.* The names were recalled of women celebrated in other times, and in all countries. Not only the highest rank was found to have numerously furnished ladies whose fame had risen high in the world of science, poetry, and art; but in the middle classes were discovered a considerable list of names entitled to the honours of posterity. Gervinus, speaking of the women of this epoch, says:—"Public opinion was everywhere highly favourable to this visible incarnation of the

* Gulhrauer.

Muses; and throughout Germany the desire to rival foreign countries in this respect grew to be an almost universal sentiment. Anna Memorata in Poland, in Italy, Fulvia Morata; but above all, Anna Schürmann, a born German, were, on account of their profound erudition and proficiency in poetry, held in the most unqualified esteem by the great and learned men of their day."

Amongst the erudite ladies here mentioned by Gervinus, the last is the one whose name has a particular interest for us, inasmuch as at the period of the Princess Palatine's life, which we dwelt on in our last chapter, it is more than probable that Mademoiselle de Schürmann's example exercised a considerable influence over Elizabeth, and that the desire to compete with her far-famed friend, went for something in her determined devotion to abstruse science. Mademoiselle de Schürmann lived in the near neighbourhood of the Queen of Bohemia's Court; eleven years older than the Princess Palatine, she was the earliest object of the latter's wonder and admiration; and when Juliana of Nassau had delivered over her granddaughter into her mother's care, the first knowledge acquired by the little princess, that there might be a fame and a glory not exclusively attached to military deeds, was coupled with the name of the so-

styled incomparable Anna de Schürmann.* As the young Elizabeth grew up, she more and more fixed upon Anna as her model, sought her counsel and advice in every emergency, and preserved her through life as one of her firmest, dearest friends. A few words upon this once so celebrated "light of science," may not be wholly without interest for our readers.

Anna Maria de Schürmann was a native of Cologne, as assuredly all those must remember who have ever visited that city, for no pains have been spared by her fellow citizens to perpetuate her memory. Her family was noble and very ancient, and her parents belonged to the Reformed creed. Her grandfather, a Dutchman, was reduced to fly from his native town of Antwerp, by the persecutions of the Duke of Alva. The little Anna was educated according to the

* Sorbière says of Anna Schürmann:—"Amongst the marvels of our age must be reckoned that noble virgin of Utrecht, Anna Maria von Schürmann, who leaves far behind her all the women that are or ever were. . . . She possesses all languages, Greek, Latin, or Oriental"—(This was so true, that she knew perfectly not Hebrew alone, but also Syriac and Chaldæan)—"and there is no art in which she does not excel," &c. "Pingit, canit, psallit," adds the sapient Doctor, whose description of Mademoiselle de Schürmann is in Latin, and who closes it by alluding to her talent for sculpture.

Report ascribes the death of this learned lady to her passion for eating spiders!

strictest and severest precepts of Calvanism, and in the most constantly pious practices. At three and four years old, she had already conceived ideas and opinions upon certain religious doctrines, which she tells us herself she never afterwards changed. With every year some fresh talent or capacity developed itself in this extraordinary person; and at the age of one or two and twenty, there was scarcely any branch of acquirement in which she was not superior. The dead tongues were familiar to her as her own; in every modern language she was a proficient, and no science seemed too obscure for her to reach its profoundest depths. With the brush as with the burin, she was well fitted to enter the lists with the most famous Dutch and Flemish masters; and her talent for painting and engraving alone would have sufficed to ensure her undying celebrity, had she devoted herself exclusively to its cultivation. Her carvings in wood astounded in Utrecht Gerard Honthorst. Her flower paintings were, she said, an innocent diversion, an occupation for her hand, during which she could give up her intellectual faculties to the meditation of divine truths. Her tapestries have a reputation throughout the civilized world; and her portraits, particularly one she took of herself, were accounted excellent.

In her own opinion,* the studies indispensable to an intelligent and reflecting female were those connected with theology and Biblical truth, and with philosophical and metaphysical inquiry; all the rest she regarded as agreeable, if added to the latter, but unnecessary. Her education may be said to have been made at the University of Utrecht, and to have always retained the somewhat narrow principles of that famous school. She came to this town with her mother, when a mere child, and from that time upwards, never missed being present, in a sort of covered tribune arranged on purpose for her, at every public college disputation. She is accused (and, perhaps, justly so) of submitting too entirely to the tenets of Voetius, who had been her first professor of scholastic theology and philosophy, and of never having admitted or (it is hinted by her detractors) understood the immense progress occasioned in speculative studies by the innovations of Descartes. Voetius, whom Descartes in a letter to Mersenne, calls the "greatest pedant in the world," had so completely and entirely mastered Anna Schürmann, and made her his own, that in all metaphysical matters, she saw but with his eyes, and blindly followed

* Consigned in a treatise entitled "Nunà fœmineæ Christianæ conveniat studium literarium," dedicated to Andreas Rivetus.

his judgment. "Voetius," writes Descartes, on his return from Italy, "has spoilt Mademoiselle de Schürmann. She had the most excellent genius for poetry, painting, and the arts generally; and now, since five or six years, he is in such complete possession of her mind, that she is taken up only with theological controversies! This quite deprives her of the conversation and society of the honest people of every-day life."

One merit, however, can never be disputed in this learned lady, and that is, the modesty with which she bore the honours that were showered upon her from all parts. She destroyed, during her lifetime, by far the greater portion of all she ever wrote, and seemed to the last to wonder at the constant proofs of admiration she excited. When, in 1645 (ten years after the King of Poland had sought the hand of the Princess Palatine), his second wife, Marie Louise de Gonzague, passed through Holland on her road from Paris to join her royal consort, her first and very natural desire was to see the princess who had been so near depriving any other of the honour of mounting the Polish throne. But this wish, somehow or other, could not be gratified. "The whole north resounds with the fame of the Princess of Bohemia," narrates Le Laboureur, who accompanied the Queen of Poland, "but the happiness of seeing her was

not vouchsafed to us." The next desire of Marie de Gonzague was a visit to Anna Schürmann, and for this purpose she went to Utrecht, whence she came away, as the writer just cited observes, "full of astonishment, and quite dazzled by so much talent."

That the friendship between Elizabeth and Mademoiselle de Schürmann should have been so intimate and lasted so long, is really a matter for some surprise, if we consider that the former was as enthusiastically devoted to the new theories of Descartes, as the latter was absorbed by the school that tried, by every means, to oppose them. Yet so it was; when the Princess Palatine could not go to Utrecht to go on to enjoy her friend's society (which she did as often as possible), she wrote to her constant letters, and from the year 1639 (Elizabeth being then twenty-one, and Mademoiselle de Schürmann thirty-two), until the close of life, the correspondence between these two remarkable women never ceased.

Two of Anna Schürmann's answers to the Princess of Bohemia are yet extant; the first one is merely a reply to a string of questions addressed to her by her friend on different subjects connected with literature and science generally, and is full of professions of her entire devotion to her illustrious correspondent; but

the other (dated January, 1644) written five years later, after the acquaintance with Descartes had opened fresh horizons to Elizabeth's searching view, gives us some notion of the strong differences of opinion that must have existed between these two disciples of sects so opposed. Without mentioning any name—for the Princess Palatine had just openly accepted Descartes' dedication of his "Principia"—Anna's letter may be regarded as a protestation against the new theories, known later under the name of Cartesianism, and as a defence of Scholasticism. "It must be hard to say," writes she, "whether the doctors of the school are more to be admired for the sharpness wherewith they invent doubts, or for the address wherewith they destroy them; and whether the courage they show in attacking the most difficult and knotty points be not surpassed by their talent in developing and explaining them, and in making clear that which seemed necessarily obscure. It is, perhaps, however, not astonishing that they should have attained to such perfection," adds Mademoiselle de Schürmann, aiming a palpable hit at the Cartesian innovators; "seeing that they have profited by the science of their predecessors, and have not treated with contempt the treasures amassed through preceding centuries. They have contented themselves with submit-

ting to the guidance of the two great luminaries of temporal and spiritual knowledge, Aristotle and Saint Augustin, whose lustre no one has yet been able to darken or dim, whatever fog and chaos of error he may have evoked for that purpose."*

This is clear enough; and between two such very learned persons, it is really infinitely honourable to the hearts of both that personal enmity never grew out of discussions bordering on bitterness, but that, on the contrary, their mutual attachment remained wholly uninfluenced by convictions so diametrically opposed, and to which each sectary was so irrevocably bound.

In the beginning Descartes was in the habit of often frequenting Mademoiselle de Schurmann; and when he visited Utrecht, it was in her hidden tribune that he habitually heard the public disputations of the University; but, by degrees, the hatred of Voetius grew to be so violent, and the proofs he gave of it so intolerable, that the great "Reformer of Philosophy," as he has been named, ceased all intercourse with a person whose blind submission to his worst enemy appeared to increase with every hour.

And yet the Princess of Bohemia and Made-

* Schürmann, "Opuscula."

moiselle de Schürmann continued friends as in the past, but from the moment when the former met the French metaphysician, her intellectual tendencies were for ever fixed. To a mind like hers, the beauties of the new system were instantly evident; and almost with the first bound she may be said to have attained to the exalted position which posterity has never since sought to make her abdicate, of Descartes's first pupil, first admirer, and first friend.

CHAPER XI.

FIRST ACQUAINTANCE OF THE PRINCESS PALATINE WITH DESCARTES —HE IS PRESENTED TO THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA—THE DHOUA FAMILY—DESCARTES' BIRTH—HIS EARLY MILITARY LIFE—GÖTHE'S REMARKS ON DESCARTES—SORBIERE'S DESCRIPTION OF DESCARTES AT EYNDEGEEST—SORBIERE ON THE CARTESIANS—THE THREE COURTS OF THE HAGUE—DESCARTES' VISION—"QUOD VITÆ SECTABOR ITER"?—FIRST PUBLICATION—THE PEDANTS OF THE SCHOOL—THEIR HATRED OF DESCARTES—HIS IDEALISM—PROTECTION OF THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE—FREDERICK HENRY'S CONDUCT—SUMMONS OF THE MAGISTRATE OF UTRECHT—ENTOURAGE OF THE PRINCESS PALATINE—ZUYTLICHEM—HIS SON, CHRISTIAN HUYGHENS—MADAME DE ZUYTLICHEM—M. DE POLLOT—SAMSON JOUBSON—DESCARTES' CHANGE OF RESIDENCE—HIS STAY AT EYNDEGEEST—"PRINCIPLES OF PHILOSOPHY" INSCRIBED TO THE PRINCESS PALATINE—DEDICATORY EPISTLE—HIS OPINION OF THE "PERFECTIONS" OF THE PRINCESS—HER BEAUTY, HER INTELLIGENCE, HER MODESTY, AND HER TEMPER.

The intimate correspondence of the Princess Palatine with Anna Schürmann had scarcely lasted a year when Descartes had the honour of being presented to the Queen of Bohemia. This was in 1640, and the person who introduced him to the Court of the exiled family was the Burgrave Achates Dhoua, a man whose recom-

mendation, both from his own great acquirements and from his inflexible fidelity to Frederick V, had double authority with every member of the Palatine family.*

René Descartes was born on the 3rd of April, 1596, in the seventh year of the reign of Henri Quatre. He belonged to not only an ancient but a noble family, and his biographer Baillet dwells no little upon the fact that an ancestor of the philosopher, a certain physician named Pierre Descartes, had in an action-at-law sustained by him during the reign of Francis I, been so well able to prove his pedigree as far back as the times of Charles V, that all the rights and privileges of pure noblesse had been awarded him. Nor, perhaps, is this accident of birth to be disregarded in what concerns Des-

* The two brothers, Achates and Christopher, Counts Dhona, were descended from a Prussian house that, since the end of the sixteenth century, had passed into the service of the Palatine family, and their name occurs most honourably at every page of the diplomatic or military annals of that period. Nearly all the Dhonas were distinguished scholars, and had reaped rich harvests of learning, either at the University of Heidleberg, or in France and Italy. Achates and Christopher Dhona remained faithful to the cause of Frederick V to the very last, and were to be reckoned among the firmest adherents of his children. The friendship between the Princess of Bohemia and Count Achates endured long after the death of their mutual friend and teacher, Descartes.

cartes; and Göthe, when speaking of him, is not wrong when he says:—"Neither the life nor even the doctrines of this truly wonderful man can be thoroughly appreciated without reflecting that he belonged to the French aristocracy, and that he was distinguished as a military man, a man of the world, and a courtier. He is polite, and, to the highest degree, well-bred towards every one, even towards his adversaries; and notwithstanding his naturally warm temper, he, like most men, educated according to Court etiquette, sedulously avoids any occasion of scandal or dispute, and continues, as much as possible, to bring into harmony his own individual innovations with the long traditionary customs that surrounded him. Thence his submission to the church, his dread of accepting the responsibilities of authorship, his precaution of Galileo's fate, his love of solitude, and, at the same time, the social tone of his voluminous and uninterrupted correspondence."

Göthe remarks, with his usual justness, that it is the double nature of courtier and idealist which forms the true originality of Descartes. "He never neglected any of the events that might happen in the sphere of the great world; and not a royal marriage or christening, not a coronation, a jubilee, or a siege, but at all costs

and all dangers he must witness it with his own eyes, and be able to talk with his equals upon what alone were their daily objects of thought and speculation; at the same time this was counterbalanced by the perpetual recurrence to retreat and *self-recoil*,* and from the equipoise of the two resulted the originality of his productions."

It is certain that if the novelty, the depth, and the truth of Descartes' philosophical ideas were calculated to strike all elevated and unprejudiced minds, there was also much in his own individuality that could not fail in prepossessing in his favour all those who made his personal acquaintance. Sorbière, who was no Cartesian, and whose testimony is, therefore, impartial,†

* Goethe's expression is "in Rückkehr in sich selbst."

† The proof of this is to be found in the "Sorbièriana," wherein he writes, "I have a considerable desire to be converted to Cartesianism, and 'le bon père Mersenne' has often reproved me for its conversion not having yet taken place. But what am I to do? For such exalted speculations an elevation of soul is required that goes beyond my heaviness and laziness. The rests are too great, and the pirouettes to be executed with the 'materia sicula' ask for too nice an equilibrium. The rope-dancers we see on the stage have been brought up to that sort of thing since their infancy. To a man of my age a turn up and down a garden walk is enough, and does better than these violent exercises. Nevertheless, I like to see these wondrous curvetters at feasts and fairs, provided they leave me quiet in the pit, and don't force me to climb up upon the rope." Sorbière in

has left the following description of the man, of whom he says:—"du reste, c'est un des plus grands hommes de notre siècle," and whose company he used to seek constantly, whilst the near neighbourhood of Leyden and Eyndegeest put the philosopher and the doctor within a walk of one another.—"As soon as I was fixed in Holland in 1642, I hurried off to Eyndegeest, half an hour from Leyden, on the Warmout side. Here I rejoiced in seeing Descartes in his solitude, and tried hard to arrive at a comprehension of his philosophy. . . . I used always to admire this nobleman's politeness, his modest reserve,

another part of his work says: "I admire M. Descartes as I should one who might show off the marvels of horsemanship on a wooden horse — the force, the address, and the souplesse are miraculous, but I doubt whether it is, all of it, half as useful as the simple feat performed by a common courier who rides post on the business of the public. M. Descartes goes all lengths with his own phantasies, pirouettes and turns round and round like a mill, but I can't for the life of me see whether he advances or not, and whether he gets one step further than his predecessors. . . . At any rate, I prefer his galimatias to that of the scholastics, and it is perhaps my fault that I do not understand him more entirely. I entreat him to forgive my ignorance, and to believe that I love and honour him, and am his most humble servant."

This judgment of Sorbière's has no merit, save that of showing in what spirit one of the more superficial of the Princess Palatine's habitués might allow himself to joke at the expense of the great philosopher, whose doctrines he does not pretend to understand.

and the manner of his life. He inhabited a small château in a beautiful position, at the very gates of the famous University of Utrecht, three hours from the Court, and not two from the sea. He had a vast number of servants, all picked and chosen men, and all good-looking; a nice garden, with meadows and clumps of trees in the background, and high church spires rising up against the horizon. He could, from this place, go in one day by water to Utrecht, Delft, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Haarlem, and Amsterdam. It was easy for him to spend the half-day at the Hague, and return to his own home afterwards; and to do this, he had but to saunter along the fairest road imaginable, through meadows, and in front of country houses, and then through a wood that borders the Hague itself. This town can certainly on the [illegible] the first towns in Europe, and in compare with [illegible] and of possessing three Courts: my time was pa[illegible] the Prince of Orange, a firstly, the Court of [illegible] in soon above two military Court, where [illegible] thousand noblemen and their [illegible] of soldiers decked out in buff doublets, with [illegible] scarfs, high boots, and long sabres, and who were this Court's chief ornament; secondly, the Court of the States-General, full of provincial deputies and burgomeisters, and representatives of the aristocracy, in black velvet coats, broad collars,

and square beards; lastly, the Court of the Queen of Bohemia, which seemed that of the Graces, seeing that she had four daughters, at whose feet all the *beau monde* of the Hague came to depose their homage, and whose talents, beauty, and virtues, were the subject of all men's talk. The eldest princess had no greater joy, however, than to listen to the readings of M. Descartes."

The first part of Descartes' life was spent in the camp. At the age of twenty-one, he put himself under the orders of Prince Maurice of Orange (1617), as a voluntary recruit, and in order to learn the art of war under his instructions. Notwithstanding the truce concluded in 1609 with Spain, Maurice of Nassau contrived that his troops should have no rest, but accustomed them daily to the most complicated and fatiguing manœuvres. Besides this, the Stadtholder was a wonderful mathematician, "and," remarks Baillet, "it was perhaps this which attracted Descartes."

His biographer pretends, also, that he merely adopted a military life, in order to observe human nature more closely, and to study different manners in different nations, as well as to place himself in a state of preparation for whatever accidents might happen to him. He renounced all idea of promotion on entering the

army, would receive no fixed place or pay, and maintained himself throughout at his own expense. Descartes himself, however, says that at this period, he really had strong warlike instincts, which left him at a maturer age; and in one of his letters he expresses himself on the subject in the following terms :—

"Habit and custom have denominated war the noblest of all trades; as for me, who look upon it as a philosopher, I esteem it no more than it is worth, and now I have some difficulty even in calling it a very honourable profession, since I have seen that idleness and libertinism are the two principal reasons for which most men devote themselves to it."

About eighteen months after his engagement with Prince Maurice, Descartes, finding he had [illegible] to do in the Stadtholder's army, took service with Maximilian of Bavaria, and curiously enough, was at the battle of Prague, when the *coup de grâce* was given to the fortunes of the Elector Palatine, whose daughter, owing to the life of exile entailed upon her by this very battle, was to become the philosopher's most ardent disciple. Some months after he had entered the Duke of Bavaria's service, Descartes had those three famous visions or dreams which decided his ultimate vocation. It was on the 10th of November, 1619, that he retired to rest,

"full of a singular enthusiasm," and pre-occupied with the idea of having "discovered that very day the true foundations of the most admirable of sciences." He fell asleep, and was assailed by phantoms that pursued him on all sides; ashamed of flying, he sought to turn round and face them, but a tremendous wind prevented him from standing upright; at last, perceiving a church with its door open, he rushed forwards, thinking to enter the holy precincts and say his prayers. Again the wind drove him from the church door into the court of a college that seemed built close by. Here he met a person who told him to enter the college, for that one of the professors wished to speak with him. When he did so, he perceived that of all the people around him (and they were numerous), he alone could not stand steady, but was blown about by a high wind. Thereupon he awoke, considerably agitated, murmured a prayer, and turning on his right side, again went to sleep. Soon he heard what appeared to him a clap of thunder, and on starting out of his slumber, thought his whole room was filled with sparks and flames. This impression subsided, and for the third time he fell asleep, and was pursued by a third dream, more mysterious than the others. On a table before him lay a book: he opened it; it was a dictionary. But beside it

lay another book, which he then opened too. This was the collection of Latin authors known by the name of "Corpus Poetarum." He began to read, and the first words he met were, "Quod vitæ sectabor iter?" At the same moment an unknown individual stood before him, and showed him some verses of Ausonius, beginning by "Est et non." Descartes maintained that the poem he had just read, commencing "Quod vitæ sectabor iter?" was infinitely superior, and thereupon they entered on a discussion, during which Descartes, convinced that he was dreaming, explained to himself, nevertheless, the purport of his dream as clearly as when he awoke.

The considerations into which he entered with regard to his three dreams would be too long to record here; suffice it to say, that from that hour the words "Quod vitæ sectabor iter?" were constantly before his eyes, and that he soon decided upon the road he would choose through life; and after much and fervent praying, and a vow made to the Holy Virgin to accomplish a pilgrimage to Loretto, he determined to consecrate his time and energies to a stricter examination of philosophical truths. In the February following (three months later), he had already begun negotiations with a publisher for printing one of his works; and notwith-

standing his aversion from publicity, he resolved to give his discoveries to the world, and no longer hide his light under a bushel. This was what is called "The Vision of Descartes," and these were its results. His productions of this period are alluded to by himself in the second part of the "Discours de la Méthode," in the following terms:—"I was then in Germany, whither the still unfinished war had called me; and, as I was returning to the army from the emperor's coronation, the first winter months surprised me in quarters where I had no society whatever, and no diversion of any kind. Luckily I had no cares, nor was agitated by any passions, so I remained the whole day long shut up with a stove, and my own thoughts." From the solitude and the "thoughts" of these winter-quarters, sprung the first sketches of those works which fame has since pronounced immortal.

There is no doubt that Descartes' early education as courtier and soldier helped him considerably, when the time came for publishing; and he is the first *savant* who breaks with the musty traditions of scholasticism, and writes—as he does everything else—like a gentleman.*

* Speaking of the Scholastics, whom he disliked, as we have seen, far more than the Cartesians, Sorbière says: "There is said to exist a certain fish, which, when pursued

He will not hear of being called Cartesius, and turns into ridicule the idea of Latinizing every man's name directly he has pulled a doctor's cap over his ears. He prints his "Essais de Philosophie" purposely in French, as a kind of appeal from the narrow coterie of college and school judges, to the wider world of general society and public opinion. All this, combined with his birth and manners, caused Descartes to be at once studied and admired by the higher classes in France and Holland, whereas hitherto the somewhat mouldy pedants of the schools had made their science only accessible to a few. Descartes was a most learned gentleman, but a gentleman always; and this was what the scholastics all Utrecht, and Voetius at their head—could not forgive in him. Superiority of science they might, perhaps, have borne, but disdain of their pedantry, of their lust, they could not stand.

Without going into any scientific details concerning the essence of Cartesianism, a few words may be necessary to elucidate Descartes' action

by its enemies, throws from it a kind of ink, and by this murky cloud escapes the sight of its pursuers. I could say as much of the philosophers and theologians of the school—they wrap themselves up in their subtleties like the fish, or even as the gods of the heathen mythology, when in battle, by fogs and clouds, those warriors whom they wish to defend."

upon the philosophical studies of his day. The world where he reigns supreme is that of Idealism,—the phenomena discovered by the reaction of the mind upon itself, the "self-recoil," as Göthe styles it, and the whole formula of which is contained in the famous words, "Je pense, donc je suis." It was not by his dogmas themselves that Descartes opened a new epoch in philosophy, but by his method and by his principles for testing truth. Until his time, philosophy and religion were necessarily divided, and who said philosopher, meant a man forcedly locked up in the study of the ancients only. Descartes delivered philosophy from these bonds, and caused it really to be of all times. Descartes' system raises man to the Creator, inasmuch as it makes the idea of the Deity the starting-point and principle of all knowledge. But at the same time no particular creed of Christianity is required, and Cartesianism, instead of erecting a barrier between the different confessions, rather, on the contrary, tends to unite them. Descartes himself, whilst, as a pious Catholic, he submits to every judgment of the Church upon dogmatical points, approaches, without perceiving it, the doctrines of the Reformation, by the line of separation he draws between natural theology and revelation, which latter he declares to be excluded from the domain

of philosophical discussion; and thus it may be understood how Holland, the classic land of the reformers in the seventeenth century, came to be the first resort of the Cartesians. At the Hague, amongst the most zealous Protestants at the court of the Queen of Bohemia, Descartes found his first ardent disciples, whose protection and friendship served to shield him against the calumnies and persecutions of his enemies. Had it not been for these, and for the resolute support afforded him by the three successive Stadtholders, Maurice, Frederick, Henry, and William II, Descartes must have fallen a victim to the attacks of the universities of Utrecht and Groningen, who had—under pretence of his doctrines being atheistical—gone so far as to invoke against him the authority of the law.

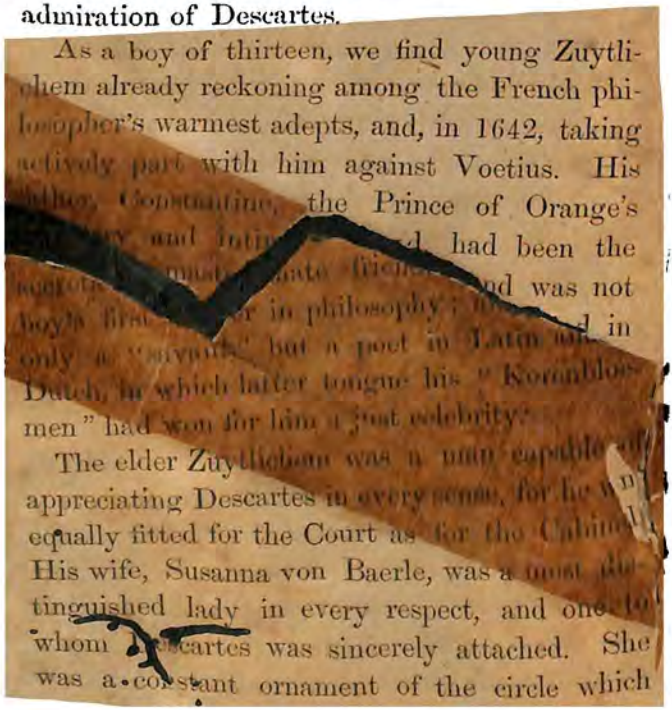
Round Elizabeth Stuart's family—for, as we have said, the queen herself took but little interest in the graver sciences—were grouped all those men who had taken part for the new systems against the worn-out scholasticism of the universities, and through these was established the intimacy of the Princess Palatine with Descartes.

At the head of all must be placed Frederick Henry himself, to whom the French minister, so soon as he had completed the composition of his "Essais," presented, by means of the prince's

confidential friend, M. de Zuytlichem, a copy of the work, "as a mark of his respect and gratitude." Some few years later (in 1643) when the magistrate of Utrecht, set on by Voetius and his colleagues, summoned Descartes to appear before him and answer to the charge of atheism, it was the Prince of Orange who induced the States of the province of Utrecht to prevent their magistrate from proceeding, and who obtained satisfaction for the offended philosopher. That Descartes, with his constitutional susceptibility and horror of all scandal, took the whole thing to heart, is however evident from the following passage of a letter written to the Princess Palatine entirely upon metaphysical subjects, and which closes thus:—"I should have entered at greater length into the questions your highness proposes, and tried to solve all the difficulties which arise, if I were not tormented by some bad news from Utrecht, whither the magistrate of the town has summoned me to come, protesting that I must prove what I have written of one of their ministers! All the world know that I wrote but in my own defence, and that the man in question has calumniated me abominably; but I am forced to go and consult on all hands, in order to find those who will help me out of these intrigues and chicaneries."

Amongst the men who surrounded the Prince

of Orange, and ranked among the particular friends of the Princess Palatine, should be mentioned first and foremost Constantine Huyghens, better known in the memoirs and correspondences of the day as M. de Zuytlichem. His son, Christian Huyghens, the inventor of the pendulum, and discoverer of Saturn's ring, was the first teacher of geometry to Leibnitz, whose friendship with Sophia of Hanover was to render her in the world of intellect almost as famous as her elder sister Elizabeth became by the admiration of Descartes.



As a boy of thirteen, we find young Zuytlichem already reckoning among the French philosopher's warmest adepts, and, in 1642, taking actively part with him against Voetius. His father, Constantine, the Prince of Orange's [illegible] had been the [illegible] was not [illegible] in philosophy; [illegible] in [illegible] but a poet in Latin [illegible] Dutch, in which latter tongue his "Korenbloemen" had won for him a just celebrity.

The elder Zuytlichem was a man capable of appreciating Descartes in every sense, for he was equally fitted for the Court as for the Cabinet. His wife, Susanna von Baerle, was a most distinguished lady in every respect, and one to whom Descartes was sincerely attached. She was a constant ornament of the circle which

surrounded the Princess of Orange, and was honoured with the special esteem and affection of the young Princesses of Nassau, and of their cousins the Princesses Palatine. She died young (in 1637), "and was regretted," says Baillet, "by all her husband's friends—that is to say, by an infinite number of the most marked persons in Europe." The biographer of Descartes then adds :—"The tears shed for Madame de Zuytlichem were given not so much to the sympathy felt for her husband—though that was great—but to her own real merit. She not only left him children, who sustained worthily the dignity of their name; she had also during life made herself distinguished by her irreproachable conduct, and by everything that can contribute to the fair fame of a noble woman. She possessed, besides this, instruction far above the rest of her sex, and she was famous for her wit. She could write gravely and wittily too, and that in prose or in verse, in Latin or in her own tongue. She used, with the poet Barbæus, to carry on a perpetual interchange of pleasantry on account of the similarity of their names (Baerle and Barbæus), and these two would send each other verses in quantity, of great freedom in their style, but very innocently so, which is proved by Madame de Zuytlichem having inscribed one day some verses addressed to her homonyme, renowned for

his timidity :—"Susanna Barlæus Gasparo Barbæo." When M. de Zuytlichem lost this amiable and distinguished wife, no one was more afflicted thereat than M. Descartes."*

Zuytlichem may be looked upon as one of the best of all Descartes' friends, and one of the oldest. He had been intimate with him since he first arrived in Holland, and on all occasions found in the learned Dutchman a firm support and stay. Descartes' "Traité sur la Mécanique," published after his death by Borel, though never finished, was undertaken at the request of Zuytlichem.

Next must be registered the name of M. de Pollot, so often mentioned in Descartes' letters. He lived also in the intimacy of the Courts of the Hague, and thought that in the universe nothing could be found to equal the Prince of Orange (Frederick Henry) and the Queen of Bohemia. In all Descartes' quarrels with Voetius, he had stood firmly by the former, not only with the Prince of Orange, who was himself well disposed, but with the Utrecht authorities, who were far from being so. After Descartes himself, M. de Pollot was perhaps the person whom the Princess Palatine most considered, and to whom, in scientific matters, she

* Baillet, "Vie de Descartes."

most constantly applied for advice. In 1646, he accepted the professorship of mathematics and philosophy in the new college founded by Frederick Henry at Breda, under the name of "Schola Illustris."

We have already mentioned the family of Dhoua as foremost amongst those who formed the habitual society of the Queen of Bohemia and her daughters,* and there remains, of the little circle of Cartesians, only one more unnoticed, but this is one of the most ardent: we allude to Samson Jousson, the queen's chaplain. For a moment, Gassendi's attacks against the new system shook his faith, but he soon got over this momentary hesitation, and came back to Descartes more enthusiastic than ever. It is to this same Jousson that Sorbière makes allusion when he says that public report accused the Princess Palatine of harbouring a Socinian in her palace.

* Sorbière, speaking of the Dhouas, says:—"The House of Dhoua came from Saxony, whence one of its ancestors was forced to fly for having given a box on the ear to an ecclesiastic, nephew of the Elector. He bore the title of Count, but coming to Prussia, where this title is little used, he took that of Burgrave. Then he subsided into Baron, from the gradual fall of his family, who are now returning to their former height, for which reason they have resumed their first title. The younger Dhoua married, in 1644, a daughter of the Marquis de Brederode, and the elder betrothed to the heiress of the Counts of Hiron."

It is very doubtful whether he ever had any influence over the Princess Elizabeth; but when he was appointed to a professorship at the new college at Breda, the report was spread in Paris that he had been her teacher. Descartes, incensed thereat, wrote off to Mersenne, to beg he would set the error right, and put Jousson in his proper place, though he was one of his adherents. M. de Becklin ought, perhaps, to be mentioned here as the person whom Descartes styles his confident "par excellence," and we must not forget M. de Brasset, the French minister at the Hague, the mutual friend of Huyghens and of Descartes, and who, in after years, transmitted to Sweden all the latter's correspondence with Queen Christina.

The twenty years (from 1629 to 1650) that Descartes spent in Holland were divided between various localities, the first cause of which continual change of place was his desire to escape from the visits of curious and importunate people, who left him no time for meditation and study. At the period when he was first presented to the Queen of Bohemia, he was living at Leyden, and shortly after (in the month of March, 1641), in order to be nearer to the Palatine family, he changed his residence for that of Eyndegeest, only half an hour distant from the Hague, where we have already seen the descrip-

tion given by Sorbière of the life he led. Here he composed his master-work, the "Meditationes de Deo," and between the occupations of publishing and making constant visits to the Court, where the Princess of Bohemia served as an all powerful attraction, he passed his time till the spring of 1643. This year, however, he took his departure for the north of Holland, in order to fly the neighbourhood of Utrecht, where Voetius had raised a tempest against him, and settled in a village of Binnen called Egmond, until he started for Sweden. Still his journeys to the Hague were never abandoned, and so long as the Princess Palatine remained under her mother's roof, her friend and teacher never ceased seeking her society at every opportunity. Afterwards, personal intercourse was replaced by a correspondence which lasted actively till the moment of the philosopher's death.

The years spent by Descartes at Eyndegeest, were undoubtedly the happiest of his whole life, and he now no longer retired from the curious crowd, which his daily increasing fame drew around him, but seemed, with the sociability natural to his countrymen and to a man of the world, to appreciate to the utmost the amiable and intelligent circle by which he was surrounded, and even to participate cordially in the diversions that were habitual to the society in which he

lived. It was not long after his acquaintance with the Princess Elizabeth that he wrote his "Principles of Philosophy," which he published in 1644, in four parts. He composed this important work immediately after leaving Eyndegeest and the near neighbourhood of the Hague; and, as though to console himself for a separation whereto he had been forced by the intrigues of his enemies, he inscribed it to the Princess Palatine with a dedicatory epistle, some portions of which merit to be recorded as a proof of the admiration and esteem wherewith the daughter of Elizabeth Stuart had inspired one of the greatest geniuses of modern times.

"The chief advantage which I have derived from my earlier works," says Descartes, "is, that they have been the cause of my having the honour of being known to your Highness, and of being sometimes admitted to discourse with you. In these our conversations I have remarked such rare and precious qualities in you, that I regard it as a service done to the public, to hold up your Highness as an example to posterity. It would ill become me to flatter or write down things whereof I had slight knowledge, and that, above all, on the first pages of a book in which I endeavour to establish the principles or foundations of all those truths which man can aim at discovering. Besides, the noble modesty, which ever so

distinguishes your Highness, makes me certain that you will better prize the plain and simple speech of a man who merely writes what he thinks and feels, than the eulogies expressed in pompous phrase, by those whose business it is to study the art of complimenting. For this reason, will I consign to this letter nothing whereof my intelligence and my experience does not make me doubly sure, and here, as throughout the whole book, I will speak as a philosopher."

Descartes then enters into the development of the qualities and virtues necessary in order to attain to the highest degree of wisdom, and after enumerating and expatiating on them—"And these things," continues he, "do I find most perfectly in your Highness: for, as to what regards the desire to acquire instruction, it is easy to perceive that neither the amusements of a Court, nor the ordinary mode of life of other princesses (whereby they are hindered from serious study) have been able to withhold you from devoting yourself to what is best in science; and the excellence of your intelligence is therein manifest that you have acquired everything quickly. But I have still another proof of this, in the fact that I never yet have met any one who has so well understood all that is contained in my writings. There are many—and those, too, amongst the best and

cleverest people—who find obscurities in them; and I invariably observe that those persons who easily comprehend the parts which belong to mathematical science, are entirely at fault with whatever concerns the métaphysical portion, and *vice versâ;* so much so, that I affirm, in all truth, never to have met but your Highness only to whose intelligence both parts were equally clear; which is the cause why I hold that intelligence to be really and truly incomparable. But what, above all, excites my astonishment is, that so many and perfect treasures of science should be possessed—not by some old doctor who has passed long years in studying, but by a young princess, whose outward appearance is more like what poets assign to the Graces than what is usually allotted to the Muses, or to the sage Minerva. Lastly, I remark in your Highness, not alone all that is required on the side of intellect, in order to arrive at consummate wisdom, but also whatever can be desired in respect to elevation of character and firmness of will. Magnanimity and gentleness are in your Highness allied to a temper, such, that although fortune has ceaselessly persecuted you, and apparently tried all that might make you other than what you are, she has failed in her attempts to discourage you or to provoke you to impatience."

Greater praise than this can scarcely be conceived; and that Descartes was sincere, that he really felt all he has here expressed, the devotion of his whole life to the Princess Palatine is there to testify.

CHAPTER XII.

SORBIERE'S IRONY—HENRICUS MORUS—THE PRINCESS PALATINE'S COUNSELS—DESCARTES "DOCILITY"—THE QUEEN OF SWEDEN—DESCARTES' FIRM SUPPORT OF ELIZABETH BEFORE CHRISTINA—"TREATISE ON THE PASSIONS"—LOVE AND JOY—SIR KENELM DIGBY'S BOOK—INFLUENCE OF THE PRINCESS PALATINE—HER CHARACTER—WHAT SHE DREW FROM HER NASSAU ANCESTORS—THE PRACTICALNESS OF DESCARTES—HIS CONSOLATORY ADVICE TO ELIZABETH—HIS APPLICATION OF PHILOSOPHICAL PRECEPTS—HIS OWN EXPERIENCE OF HIS THEORIES—THE ABSOLUTE POWER OF WILL—ACTION OF PROSPERITY AND ADVERSITY ON THE MIND—DESCARTES' DEVOTION TO ELIZABETH—COMPARISON BETWEEN DESCARTES AND GÖTHE.

NOTWITHSTANDING Sorbière's ironical joke upon Descartes' disciples,* the Princess Palatine was held, by all those who were capable of appreciating her merits, in the same esteem and honour wherein her teacher himself de-

* In his "Letters and Discourses," Sorbière, to the infinite anger and horror of Baillet, affirms, with his usual légèreté, that "M. Descartes himself had declared one man and one woman only in all the universe to be capable of comprehending his doctrines!—the former being the physician Henry Regius, the latter the Princess of Bohemia."

lighted to hold her. In a letter written by Henricus Morus, the English philosopher, to Descartes, we find the following:—

"You only can judge of the pleasure I experience in perusing your works. I am convinced that I feel the same joy in the comprehension and adoption of your theorems (wherein lie such wondrous beauties) that you must have felt in discovering them, and that those mighty creations of your mind are as dear to me as though they were my own. I will even go so far as to say that sometimes I fancy I am myself their author, for every thought of yours is so fitted to my understanding that I cannot imagine any other more reasonable or more natural to me. I am persuaded our minds are of the same nature, and unite together essentially and necessarily. I am also certain that whoever does not follow your method cannot avoid leaving the straight road, and—to tell you frankly my opinion—I believe that all the great philosophers who have yet existed, all the intimate confidants of Nature's secrets,* were so many dwarfs and pigmies compared with you. From

* "Bless the good man!" cries Sorbière; "to hear him talk you would think he was united to Dame Nature in the bonds of wedlock, and that she had no power or right to keep anything from him!"

the first moment when I read your works, I at once decided in my own mind that your illustrious disciple, the Princess Elizabeth, must—in order to have entered so perfectly into the comprehension of your philosophy—be infinitely wiser than all the sages and philosophers of Europe put together. And well did I see that I was not mistaken, when I became more thoroughly acquainted with your writings."

The part of the Princess Palatine was in a very short time not that of a pupil only, but rapidly grew into that of an adviser. Descartes had such entire confidence in her judgment, that, young as she was for such severe studies (being then but six or seven and twenty), he rarely gave to the public any one of his works without submitting the manuscript to her inspection; and the consideration he had for her opinion makes his biographer, Baillet, adopt the word "docility," when alluding to Descartes's mode of attending to his royal friend's remarks:—

"The erudite princess," writes he, "whom M. Descartes consulted on these sublime matters was possessed of a strength and capacity of intellect so superior to the greater number of learned men even, and was so initiated into the most inaccessible arcana of philosophical and

mathematical science, that besides the respect due to her high rank and birth, he had a special deference for her judgment, and took small account of the humility with which she, on the contrary, always styled him 'her master.' There existed, perhaps, no one, save the Queen of Sweden only, who refused to acknowledge Elizabeth's superiority, because she only could allow herself to be jealous of this princess. This jealousy became so evident in the queen, particularly after she had descended from the throne, that she could not bring herself to render justice to her rival, nor consent that others should render it in her presence. It may be regarded as a lucky circumstance in the life of M. Descartes, that he invariably maintained himself in the high favour of a queen so jealous, without ever abandoning the right (which he constantly exercised) of upholding steadily before her majesty the fame of the Princess Palatine, and loudly proclaiming the excellence of her genius and the elevation to which she had risen in the world of science. Elizabeth sometimes imparted certain objections to M. Descartes upon the works he submitted to her eye; she called them 'doubts and difficulties,' but, without seeking to flatter her, he often accepted them as positive corrections, and profited by them with a docility that sprang

from nothing else than the very slight attachment he had for his own opinions."*

Besides soliciting the opinion of the Princess Palatine upon the works written for the public, Descartes compose his treatise, "On the Passions," for "the special use of the Princess Elizabeth," and sent it to her from Egmond, in the spring of 1646; added to this, about the same period, he undertook the alteration of his "Description de l'Animal et de l'Homme," in

* This excess of modesty and liberality in Descartes had been stigmatized by his enemies as "uncertainty", and "absence of conviction," for it was impossible for the Scholastics to understand anything of the kind. "This amiable docility," says Baillet, "never left him at any period of his life, not even when he felt himself obliged to take a different road from that of his masters. Before he published anything, he sought among the savants in Paris and elsewhere, for judges who would rigorously censure him. He used constantly to thank "le Père Mersenne" for the care he took to collect all that was said against him, and his habit was rather to profit by objections instead of refuting them. He begged him to go on collecting all that was advanced by his adversaries, and to transmit their remarks to him in the most disagreeable form possible. "It is the greatest pleasure you can do me," he would write, "for I am not such a fool as to complain while any one dresses my wounds; and whoever will do me the favour to instruct and really teach me a truth, will find me invariably docile." After the publication of his "Essais," he informed the public generally, that the stronger were the objections made to him, the better pleased he should be; and he was always ready beforehand to award openly the victory to whoever should seem to have a shadow of right on his side."

order that it might be more conformable to the wishes of the princess, who had, some years previously, hazarded various observations upon it. The letter by which Descartes accompanies the "Traité sur les Passions" is worthy of being in part quoted, and begins thus :—

"Madam,

"I recognize by experience how right I have been in putting glory among the passions; for I know what the thirst for it is, by the delight I felt at your highness's approval of my treatise. Neither am I surprised that you should also have discovered in it many defects, for many there must surely be, seeing that it is a subject to which I am unused, and of which I have now, so to say, made but a rough pencil sketch, without any of the lights and shades, or colours that would be requisite to make it fit to encounter such penetrating eyes as those of your highness. Nor have I recorded all the physical principles which have helped me in analysing the different movements of the blood that more or less accompany the manifestation of such or such passions, because for that I should have found it necessary to enter into anatomical disquisitions, requiring a more precise science of all the several parts of the human body than I have (not but what, for my own part, I am

pretty well satisfied with what I think I have found out in that respect)."

Upon the subject of the complication of the passions, occurs the following remarkable passage:—

"If love, for instance, were always joined to joy, I should hardly know to which of the two to ascribe the warmth and expansion which they produce in the region of the heart; but love being, on the contrary, often coupled with sadness, yet the warmth enduring still, though without expansion, I have been led to believe that from love comes warmth, whilst expansion proceeds from joy alone. And again, with desire; it is often, though not always, allied to love, and the two do not always co-exist in the same degree —for, though loving however much, with no hope there can be but little desire, and in such case, failing the perseverance and fiery energy which exist when desire is strong, we may affirm that the latter spring from desire, and not from love."

In some respects Descartes undoubtedly must have derived great benefit from his intercourse with the Princess Palatine. The philosopher was, for example, no linguist, whilst his royal pupil was, as we have seen, one of the most distin-

guished of her day, and, in many occurrences, was exceedingly useful to her master. We find in one of his letters to Elizabeth the proof that she had, by translation, made him acquainted with Sir Kenelm Digby's work on the "Immortality of the soul:"

"How grateful I am," writes he to the Princess in 1645, "for the trouble your Highness has taken to bring to my knowledge the book of Sir Kenelm Digby, which I should otherwise be utterly unable to appreciate, unless it were translated into Latin, which M. Samson Jousson, who is here just now, assures me it will be shortly."

The many proofs we have of the independence of spirit, of the reliance on self of the Princess Palatine, render her spiritual liaison with Descartes an important circumstance in the history of science. It is manifest that he treated her as an equal, scientifically speaking; and from such friendship and equality as that pre-supposes, can alone arise the influence, which she certainly possessed and exercised over the mind of the philosophical reformer, perhaps, to a higher degree than any one. It was the wide stretch of her intellect, and her instinctive comprehension of sublime truths, which raised her so far beyond the mere hoarders-up of knowledge, such as Anna Schürmann (infinitely and undeniably superior to the Princess Elizabeth, in what regarded the quantity

and variety of mere acquired instruction). The Princess Palatine possessed that which no study can give,—the "divinum ingenium," which we have seen John of Nassau so constantly vaunting to his brother, William of Orange, as the attribute of the latter's son, Maurice. But more than these merely intellectual qualifications, Elizabeth drew from the Nassau blood that firmness of character and strong individuality which rendered the manner of their application so remarkable. Upright, straightforward, and sincere, serious, courageous, and simple, Elizabeth takes nothing, unless it may be mere grace of manner, from the haughty and elegant Stuart race, little from her father's Bourbon grandmother, but all from the Nassaus, and we can easily understand the marks of parentage, which made Sorbière observe that common report pointed to a great resemblance between the Princess of Bohemia and her great-grandfather, William the Taciturn. These moral qualities were, fully as much as her intelligence, the links which held Descartes united to her, spiritually, through life. With him, philosophical studies were not a mere exercise for the intelligence, nor was metaphysical speculation regarded as a curiosity,—unprofitable, practically speaking, however wondrous it might be. On the contrary, like the ancients, Descartes applied philosophy to the guidance of conduct,

and the moderation of the passions, and held that out of the greatest wisdom must inevitably be derived the greatest good. The mere speculators for speculation's sake, accuse him of want of profoundness, and of disrespect for what they termed the science of metaphysics; and this, because at every opportunity he laboured to put aside whatever belonged either to mere empty terminology, or to a fruitless inquisitiveness of the imagination. In answer to some "difficulties" of the Princess Palatine, touching the precise point of contact between matter and mind, Descartes, upon one occasion, openly advises his fair pupil to observe great moderation in the indulgence of her taste for mere abstract meditation, and he further observes that, although it is decidedly necessary that each one should comprehend, once for all, the principles of metaphysical science, inasmuch as they would aid him to arrive at a comprehension of truth, both divine and human; yet it would be disastrous to be too often in the habit of meditating thereon, because this would hinder the health, and proper application of the intellectual faculties to different branches of study.

This eminent practicableness of Descartes, so diametrically opposed to the petty, mole-like researches, the "ewige nachgrabeleren"* as

* The literal translation is "a constant digging and poking after things never found."

Göthe styles them, of the schools, was another cause of the dire hatred of the scholastics against the Frenchman, and perhaps fitted him more than any one to be the friend, counsellor, and consoler of the Princess Palatine. Generally speaking, we find on perusing Descartes's correspondence with his royal disciple,* that practical questions outbalance considerably the more purely metaphysical ones, and the teacher lets slip no opportunity of applying his precepts, and extracting from his theories the most positive benefit in practice.

His constant object seems to be to strengthen and support Elizabeth against the ceaseless attacks of fortune which appear to pain him even more than they do her, and in this respect his letters are invaluable, and contain the reflection, as it were, of all that occurred, both interiorly and exteriorly, to trouble or pre-occupy the daughter of the luckless Elector Frederick. Above all, he never ceased counselling her to rely upon herself, to trust to her own strong reason and firm mind, and resist the encroachment of all who seek to influence her in a thousand ways. The many domestic crosses which assail her, he

* Unfortunately there is nowhere a single line of one of the princess's own letters extant; but their contents may be almost always pretty well guessed, by the minute care taken in the replies to leave nothing unanswered.

entreats her to disregard, or treat them at least as domestic enemies, to whom people end in getting accustomed.

"To prevent these vexatious preoccupations from exercising a positively baneful action," writes Descartes to the Princess, in the spring of 1645, "I know but of one way, and that is to keep the imagination clear of all attention to them, and only use one's reason alone in considering them, when it is inevitable. It is easy to remark here the distinction between reason and imagination. I, for my part, believe that perfectly happy persons, and having every cause to be so, if they were constantly to see tragedies performed in their presence, or to occupy themselves with gloomy subjects, however fictitious, so as to sadden their imagination, although their reason should remain untouched, I believe that such persons might bring on, by purely physical causes, most positive physical sufferings and serious illness; whereas I hold that persons who should have an infinite number even of subjects of grief, but who should prevent imagination from dwelling on them, and who, whilst reason, at such times as should be useful, was employed in combatting annoyance, should constantly keep imagination occupied about pleasant things. I believe that such persons might ward off even

those maladies to which nature should seem to have predisposed them."

Descartes does not only propose to the Princess as a precept, this sovereignty of mind over matter, he adds to it the weight of his own personal example, relating that, born of a mother who died of consumption but a few days after his birth, he had been told by all doctors that he must prepare for an early grave, and had, in fact, inherited from his parent a most alarming cough and sickly complexion, both of which endured till he had passed the age of twenty. "But I am convinced," he continues, "that my determination to see everything in the light which pleased me best, and to make my happiness depend in reality upon myself alone, mainly contributed to vanquish entirely a state of health which had almost grown to a second nature."

This absolute despotism of the human will, this power he attributes to it, even over positive matter, was the favourite theory of Descartes, the principle by which he guided himself through life, and would have caused all those whom he loved to be also ruled: but to no one does he preach this doctrine with such ardour as to the Princess Palatine. A fortnight after the last letter, whereof we have just quoted a fragment, he writes as follows (April 1st, 1645):—

"Madam, I humbly entreat of your Highness to forgive me, if I cannot pity your sufferings when I have the honour to receive your letters, for in each one I always remark such lucid thoughts and such strong reasonings, that I refuse to admit the idea of a mind capable of conceiving them being imprisoned within an ailing body. . . . I know that it is almost impossible to avoid the perturbation produced in us by the first news of a fresh misfortune, and moreover that the rarest spirits are those whose passions are the strongest and most ready to react upon their whole system; but I think that the next day, when sleep has calmed the movement of the blood, and quieted the emotion caused, it is perfectly possible to tranquillize the mind, and restore it to its proper equilibrium; this is to be done by carefully considering the advantages to be drawn from what the day before had seemed to be a great distress, and by judiciously averting reflection from the ills foreseen. There are no events, however frightful, however irremediable in the judgment of the vulgar, on which a wise person may not be able to throw a light that, from one side or other, shall render them agreeable in his sight. Your Highness may from the persecutions of fortune, draw this general consolation:—that probably you owe to them the exalted degree of cultivation to

which you have brought your mind,—now this is a gain which you should value beyond an empire. Great prosperity so dazzles, and so intoxicates, that they whose fate it is to be so prosperous, may be said rather to be possessed by their luck than to possess it; although this does not happen to natures such as yours, still far fewer occasions are furnished for improvement than in adversity. I firmly believe that as there is in the world no good (excepting common sense) that may be styled an absolute good, so there is also no evil, whence, with the help of common sense, some advantage may not be derived. I once tried to counsel to your Highness a species of intellectual indifference, fearing lest too serious mental occupations might induce bodily debility, but I would not, nevertheless, dissuade you from those labours, which should divert you from gloomy pre-occupations, and I doubt not, that all things considered, those studies which to others would be hard, may to your Highness prove a means of relaxation from painful thought. I should esteem myself happy beyond measure, if I could help to facilitate those studies, and am far more anxious to go and learn at the Hague what shall have been the virtues of the Spa waters,* than to discover what

* The princess had been sent to Spa for her health.

are those of the rare plants in my own garden, and also far more than to know what passes at Groningen or Utrecht, whether to my advantage or disadvantage. This anxiety will oblige me to follow my letter in four or five days, and during all those of my life, I shall ever remain," &c.

If there is something very beautiful in the tone of tender, and, at the same time, strong manly friendship, which pervades Descartes' letters to Elizabeth, and in the noble fortitude wherewith he perpetually seeks to animate her, it is no less admirable to witness the firm serenity with which he places himself above all the possible frowns of fortune, and by dint of will rises superior to circumstance. With more religious feeling, there is much in Descartes of Göthe, but the French philosopher is more near to his fellow-men, more loveable in every sense than the "Jove of Weimar," and in him we may observe all the graces of wisdom as well as its force—he is in the sublimest, as in the gentlest sense, a sage.

CHAPTER XIII.

SENECA'S "DE VITA BEATA" COMMENTED ON BY DESCARTES AND THE PRINCESS PALATINE—HOW REASON MAY BE FORTIFIED—QUESTIONS PROPOSED BY THE PRINCESS—WHETHER SELFISHNESS BE A PROOF OF INTELLIGENCE—CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE PALATINE FAMILY—PROVIDENCE AND FREEA-GENCY—THEOLOGICAL DIFEERENCES BETWEEN DESCARTES AND HIS PUPIL—INCONSISTENCIES—MORAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE FRENCH—EPICURISM AND STOICISM—DESCARTES AND GASSENDI—ILLNESS OF THE PRINCESS PALATINE—LETTER OF DESCARTES.

ALTHOUGH the loss of the letters written by the Princess Elizabeth herself is eternally to be regretted, still by following closely those of Descartes, particularly at a certain period, we attain to a knowledge that may be safely termed precise, of the contents of those to which his were the replies. For instance, in the philosopher's six epistles upon Seneca's "De Vitâ Beatâ," we can clearly discover the arguments that had been employed by the princess, and the several points on which her master differed from her. Descartes had gladly seized the

opportunity afforded him by the study of Seneca's work of ever more and more inculcating to his royal friend those Stoical theories he believed to be the sole basis of all earthly good, and the time and attention he at this period devoted to the compositions of the illustrious Roman found their object wholly in the desire of being practically useful to the Princess Pălatine. More resolutely than ever did Descartes uphold his favourite theory of human happiness being solely dependent on human will, and perfectly attainable without any extraneous help. Elizabeth disputed the point, and Descartes, assuming her position, answers her objections thus:—"You observe very rightly that there are sufferings which, depriving us of the power to think and judge, render us incapable of acting up to the dictates of our reason; and this teaches me, that what I had hitherto affirmed of man in general, should only be said of those men in particular who stand in the full enjoyment of their intelligence, and, besides this, know where lies the road that must be taken in order to arrive at contentedness."

In another of his six letters, Descartes discovers to us the problem proposed to him by his correspondent, namely, "The indication of the means whereby reason may be always so surely strengthened, that in every occurrence

that which is best may be clearly and unhesitatingly discerned?" In the great philosopher's answer, he is unavoidably led into what at first seems like a contradiction of his principles, but is not in fact so. The worship of truth as truth, and for its own abstract sake, is so strong in Descartes, that his arguments conduct him straight to the assertion, that it is incontestibly preferable to know more and to enjoy less, than to buy contentment at the cost of ignorance. At the same time, he returns to the other part of his system by affirming that the advantageous side of everything (however apparently disadvantageous) really existing, it is no sacrifice of truth, but the contrary, to find it out, and when found out it is a proof of sense to see it alone. The princess—harassed at this time by many misfortunes, which we will later recount in detail—was disposed to regard her situation in the world with a greater degree of discouragement than usual, and she thereby gave her teacher an opportunity of vanquishing her with her own arms in the following terms:—

"By the very fact which your highness deplores, of having so much more time to lose, so much less occupation than others of your age and station, by that very fact have you been enabled to turn your activity towards intellectual pursuits, and

have you risen so immeasurably superior to others; and if you reflect thereupon, you will, I am certain, not refuse to recognize the good you have gained. Besides, I really cannot admit that you should thus compare your destiny with that of others rather in what gives you cause of complaint than of satisfaction."

Another question proposed by the princess was this:—"Whether they, who consider themselves alone, are more reasonable, or they who allow themselves to be tormented on account of others?" The doubt had probably been forced upon Elizabeth's mind by certain domestic annoyances as well known to Descartes as to herself, and in the Queen of Bohemia, in the Elector Charles Louis, and in Louise Hollandine—whatever their respective qualities and virtues of many kinds—there lay an instinctive tendency to selfishness that had assuredly more than once suggested to the reflecting spirit of the Princess Palatine the possibility of self-abnegation being a proof of intelligence. Be that as it may, Descartes had no hesitation in replying to the query, and concluded, as might be supposed, in favour of those who could sympathize, even to their own inconvenience, with others. A third question of Elizabeth's was more important still, and is curious from the

grounds on which teacher and disciple each support their respective doctrine. It has reference to no less a subject than the one great master-problem of theology: the co-relationship of God's providence to man's freedom; and here a few lines are not mis-spent in describing the line followed by each disputant. Descartes, holding to the dogma of grace in its very extremest limit, almost entirely sacrifices the notion of human free-agency to that of divine omnipotence, whilst the princess carries her idea of our independence so far, that she nearly approaches the doctrines of the Arminians, who then constituted a distinct sect in Holland. This appears from Descartes's own words:—"I do not fancy," he writes, "that your highness, in the notion of God's providence which you call 'the foundation of theology,' means that a change can be operated in his eternal decrees by any act which depends on our free agency. No theology will agree to this. When we are told to pray to God, it is not that we may teach him what we require, nor obtain in our favour a modification of anything he may have ordained for all eternity—either were wrong and vain, it is that we may obtain that which He has for all eternity decreed we should obtain by our prayers. And I fancy that all theologians are agreed

upon this point, even those called Arminians, who accord the greatest latitude to our free-agency."

More than once Descartes recurs to this knotty question of the independence of the human will, and always in a manner which shows that, in reality, the notion of man's free-agency, when opposed to the power of providence, was, in his mind, a fiction ; whilst at the same moment he loudly preaches the doctrine of the sufficiency of the human will to vanquish nature and secure happiness. Here became evident one of those inconsistencies to which the sublimest spirits are exposed when they seek to explain and systematize that which their imperfection barely enables them vaguely to divine ; and perhaps this very identical discussion it was which, by revealing a discrepancy in the doctrines she had almost worshipped, began the work of dissolution, for many, many years imperceptible, but ending in the comparative secession of the Princess Palatine from Cartesianism.

However there might be—and there decidedly was—a tendency in Descartes and his pupil to regard certain theological subjects of controversy from a different point of view, they were strictly united upon most others, and principally upon whatever appertained to the domain of moral

philosophy. Here both entertained the same elevated ideas, and both were equally averse from those systems, already beginning to grow into popularity, wherein mere material and sensual enjoyment is proposed as the end and aim of man's existence upon earth. In this respect Descartes occupies an exalted position in the annals of France. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, from Montaigne to Diderot, the whole tone of moral philosophy had been gradually descending to that species of sensual Epicurism of which, in Descartes' time, his adversary Gassendi was the foremost representative and champion. Descartes alone was the supporter of the Stoical doctrine, whence all spiritualism in modern philosophy takes its rise, and wherein many pious moralists of the sixteenth century went so far even as to see the forerunner of the Gospel. In this he harmonized entirely with the strong, high-minded and profoundly Christian Princess of Bohemia.

Of the firm language he on all occasions used to his royal disciple—of the truly stoical principles he sought to instil into her mind, we have already given several examples to our readers; but, perhaps, nowhere as in the following letter does he distinctly show to Elizabeth what she owes to herself, and what should be expected from the lofty superiority of mind and character

wherewith she has been endowed. It is a portion of a letter written in 1649, when the Princess Palatine was beginning to recover from an alarming illness brought on principally, so thinks her friend, by severe mental suffering. "The cruelty of fate," says Descartes, "in so persecuting your family, gives you cause enough for grief, and renders it easy to understand that in your moral vexations lie the chief grounds of your bodily indisposition. It is only to be feared lest that indisposition should continue, unless you obtain command sufficient over yourself to conquer contentment in despite of destiny. I know it would be worse than idle to recommend joy to one who should be every day exposed to fresh annoyance; and I belong not to that school of philosophy that would force its sages to be unsusceptible of feeling. I also know that your highness is not likely to be so much hurt by what affects yourself in particular, as by what strikes at the interests of your house, and the fortunes of those who lie nearest to your heart; and this deep sympathy I hold for the dearest of all virtues. But it seems to me that here is the great difference between souls of an exalted nature and those of a baser stamp; the latter obey the dictates of their passions, and are only happy or unhappy, according as the immediate circumstance that touches them is

agreeable or unpleasant; whereas the former are guided by such strong and well-reasoned principles, that although they may feel passions often more violent far than those of the vulgar, their reason still reigns supreme over all, and so reduces their passions to submission, that these but augment and perfect the felicity they have achieved in life. They weigh against the fragility of the body the immortality of the soul, and contemplating passing events within view of eternity, look upon existence as upon the succeeding acts of a comedy. . . . . Were I writing to any other person, I might fear lest the style of my letter should seem exaggerated; but I regard your highness as being gifted with the purest, noblest, loftiest soul I know, and therefore am I convinced you ought to be the happiest upon earth, and that it now depends upon yourself alone to be so. You need but to cast a glance around you, and compare those possessions whereof no fate can rob you, with those that you have been deprived of by fortune, —compare what you are with what others are, and then you must see what great and manifest cause you have to be contented."

However we may admire such language in itself, and the high tone of sentiment that could prompt it, we must also admit that she to whom such language could be held,—the young,

charming, high-born princess by whom such doctrines could be expected to be appreciated,—was in every way worthy of the friend who sought to console her.

CHAPTER XIV.

FAMILY DISSENSIONS—THE ROYALISTS AND REPUBLICANS—MARRIAGE OF PRINCE EDWARD TO ANNE DE GONZAGUE—OPPOSITION OF THE FRENCH COURT—THE PRINCE'S CONVERSION TO THE CATHOLIC FAITH—AFFLICTION OF HIS FAMILY—THE PRINCESS WRITES TO DESCARTES—HIS ADVICE ON THE MATTER—HIS LETTER—ANOTHER BLOW—PRINCE EDWARD AND PRINCE PHILIP AT PARIS—THEY ARE RECALLED BY THEIR BROTHER—LIEUT.-COL. D'EPINAY—HIS ADVENTURES AND POSITION—HE QUARRELS WITH PRINCE PHILIP—FATAL RENCONTRE—D'EPINAY SLAIN—ESCAPE OF THE PRINCE, AND HIS DEATH IN SPAIN—GRIEF AND ANGER OF HIS FAMILY—SUPPOSED QUARREL OF THE PRINCESS WITH HER MOTHER—SHE GOES TO BERLIN—HER STAY THERE—HER RETURN TO THE HAGUE.

We attended in our last chapter to the misfortunes which, between the years 1645 and 1648, assailed the Princess Palatine and her family, and produced the state of bodily weakness and mental discouragement, against which Descartes was so constantly labouring to fortify his royal friend and pupil. The first of these crosses consisted in the conversion of her brother Edward to a faith that was not her own: whilst Rupert and Maurice were in England taking part in the fearful struggle already begun be-

tween the Republicans and the doomed House of Stuart, the two younger princes, Edward and Philip, had been sent to France, and were completing their education in Paris. Notwithstanding the cowardly desertion of the elder brother, Charles Louis, from the cause of his uncle the King of England, the Parliament had, as we know, stopped all the supplies hitherto awarded to "the tyrant's" sister; and the Queen of Bohemia and her daughter, at the Hague, were often reduced to ask themselves how their daily expenditure, narrow even as it was, could be covered.* In the midst of these pecuniary vexations, came the sudden news from Paris that Prince Edward had turned Catholic. Without consulting or apprizing his mother—without asking permission of the youthful King of France, and the Queen Regent, Anne of Austria, he had, at the age of twenty-two, privately espoused Anna Gonzague, the eldest daughter of the Duke of Nevers and Mantua, sister to the Queen of Poland, and herself the famous "Princess Palatine" of the days of Mazarin and the Fronde.† Of the marriage and the bride, more anon. Prince Edward experienced difficulties without end in the recognition of this

* Vide Sötl's "Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia."

† Vide the above, and also Basnage, "Annales les Pays Bas."

union, and could at last only obtain the pardon of the Court of France by his abjuration of the Protestant creed. Immense was the consternation of the Palatine family at the Hague. Elizabeth Stuart wrote immediately to her son, Charles Louis, that she wished but to die; and the Elector overwhelmed his brother with reproaches. The Princess of Bohemia was if anything more afflicted than her mother, though she did not express her sentiments so energetically, or call upon death to end her woes. But she fell seriously ill, and strangely enough, as some have thought, wrote to Descartes, who, spite of all his philosophy, was a firm Christian, and, moreover, a zealous Catholic, to recount her despair at the fact of her brother having been converted to a faith which was sincerely partaken in by himself! His answer clearly shows that he felt this inconsistency, and could not avoid manifesting as much, even to the friend "whose intelligence he held to be perfectly apart from all others in this world."*

* When Descartes was solicited to publish his "Traité des Passions," he objected that it was not written for the public. "I wrote it," said he, "for the sole usage of a princess whose intelligence is so perfectly apart from all others in this world, and so superior to the generality of mankind, that she easily and at once understands all that which gives our most learned doctors such trouble to comprehend."

He replies to the princess in the following terms :—

" I will not deny my surprise at learning that your highness should have been grieved—nay, grieved even to physical illness—at an event which by far the greater part of the world will call fortunate ; and which even the rest ought to regard as at least excusable, for many excellent reasons. Those of my religion (and they form the great mass of persons in Europe) cannot avoid approving the fact itself, although some of the determining causes of the fact may appear blameable in their eyes : for we believe that God uses various means to draw souls towards him, and that one may, for instance, have entered the cloister with unholy intent, who shall afterwards have led therein the life of a real saint. As for those who are of another belief—if they disapprove, one may have some right to impugn their judgment, for they cannot be impartial—and if they will consider that if they, or their fathers, or their ancestors, had not begun by quitting the Romish Church, they themselves could not belong to the Reformed creed, they may see some good cause for ceasing to abuse the persons who return to the Church of Rome. In what regards mere worldly prudence, it is certain that they who are favoured

by fortune, do well to group themselves round her, and to join their efforts together to prevent her from escaping; but they from whose house she has fled, are, perhaps, not wrong to disperse, and seek her on different roads, in order that, should all not enchain, some among the number at least may bind her. If it is believed that such persons have great resources, and count friends in every party, they win greater consideration, and are more esteemed than if their adherents were confined to one party only. This prevents me from looking upon those who councilled the prince's conversion, as enemies to your family. But I have not the presumption to expect that my arguments can diminish your highness's resentment. I only hope that time will have diminished it before you shall receive this letter; and I should fear, on the contrary, to re-awaken it, if I continued longer on the same subject."

It will be seen that Descartes avoids entering upon the more intimate part of the subject, and his arguments, instead of bearing upon the religious points under discussion, bear upon the greater or less advisability of the matter in a purely temporal light. Descartes was perfectly aware that, for a thousand reasons, there was no use in trying to make the Catholic faith appear

preferable to her own in the eyes of the Princess Palatine, and his letter is that of a philosopher and a man of the world.

Prince Edward's abandonment of his father's creed was not the only grief which at this period was destined to assail the Princess Elizabeth. Another and more tragical event threw the whole Electorial family into despair, and ultimately cost it the life of one of its members. We have said that the two youngest princes, Edward and Philip, were brought up at the Court of France. Soon after the conversion of the former, however, the "Prince Palatine," as he was called, Charles Louis, as head of the family, recalled Philip from Paris, "where," he asserted, "were only to be found either Atheists or hypocrites." Philip seems to have been possessed by the same military ardour as Rupert, and in many respects to have resembled this last upholder of chivalrous traditions. Charles Louis, anxious for this very reason, that he should be employed in the manner most likely to develop his native energies, extorted from the Parliament an order in virtue of which his brother was to depart for Venice, there raise a fleet, and taking the command of it, conduct it to the English shores. But soon the fear, lest Philip, with his forces, should go over to the king's side, produced the retractation of this resolve, and the youthful prince, instead of

Venice, went to the Hague into the bosom of his family.

At this time—in the beginning of the year 1646—there was living at the Hague a man of equivocal renown, but fascinating manners, a French Lieutenant-Colonel, M. d'Epinay. It was said he fled France on account of the jealousy his projected marriage with a young lady of Tours inspired in the breast of a prince of the blood, and this story, true or false, in no way disserved him in the opinion of the Dutch ladies. He was received with marked favour in all the most aristocratical circles of the Hague, and by no one more constantly welcomed than by the still beautiful and attractive Queen of Bohemia. It is affirmed by some authors highly worthy of credence* that M. d'Epinay exercised such undeniable influence over the widowed Electress Palatine that she had begged him to form part of her "conseil de famille," and to aid her in directing her most intimate affairs, which circumstance, added to many others, had made scandal busy with the queen's good name. Whether report was calumnious or just we will avoid examining, but one and all of Elizabeth Stuart's children had taken or chosen the Frenchman for the object of their violent dislike, and none

* Sölti's "Elizabeth Stuart."

more so than the young and impetuous Philip. D'Epinay seems to have largely reciprocated this feeling on the prince's part, and a very short time sufficed for the brooding hatred to discover itself by acts. In the night of the 20th June, 1646, as Prince Philip, accompanied by one of his friends, was regaining his own dwelling, he was assaulted by some Frenchmen, among whom he recognized d'Epinay, and it is asserted called him by his name, coupled with words which, when commented on, led to no very favourable conclusions touching his mother's conduct. The assassins took to their heels, but the following day, as Philip was driving through the market-place, he caught sight of his enemy, and bounding from the carriage, sprang, in a first impressible impulse, upon d'Epinay. The latter drew his sword, and wounded the prince under the arm, whereupon Philip plunged a poignard into his opponent's heart, and flinging it from him,* sought safety in instantaneous flight. The sensation excited by this frightful event was tremendous. Not only the countrymen of M. d'Epinay were loud in their clamours against Philip's mode of avenging himself, but his mother openly joined the ranks of his adversaries, and swore never to see him more, or look

* "Theatrum Europa."

upon him as her son. Philip fled to Brussels, entered the Spanish service, and nine years later (in 1655) fell at the head of his regiment whilst besieging Rethol, not having then completed his thirtieth year.

It is scarcely necessary to allude to—certainly unnecessary to refute—the hideous calumny so lightly accepted and promulgated by some few French writers of the time—(Baillet at their head even)—and which consisted in accusing the Princess Palatine of having counselled her brother to the murder of d'Epinay, and sought to connect the fact of Elizabeth's separation from her mother about this time with the supposed abhorrence felt by the Queen of Bohemia for her daughter's presence. If every single feature of the Princess Palatine's character did not protest against the absurd accusation, a letter we will quote of Charles Louis to his mother, written but a few weeks after the event, would suffice to show the utter falseness of it.* On the 10th July, 1646, the Elector addresses his mother from London in the following strongly marked terms:—"Permit me, Madam, to solicit your pardon for my brother Philip—a pardon I would have sooner asked, had it ever entered my mind that he could possibly need any intercession to

* Guhrauer.

obtain it. The consideration of his youth, of the affront he received, of the shame which would all his life have attached to him, had he not revenged it, should suffice—but more than all, the remembrance of his birth, of his close parentage to yourself, and to him, to whose dead ashes you vowed more love than to aught else on earth, must surely be more than adequate to efface any bad impression made by those, who, through a false statement of the circumstance, have misled you; and who, rejoicing over all divisions in our family, have sought to estrange my brother from your heart." The Palatine ends his letter by observing that in truth, his venturing to interfere in this matter has more occasion for forgiveness than his brother's act, and he adds the hope that "the welfare of her children, and the honour of her House, will outweigh every other idea, and bear away a signal victory." In all this, not a word of, not an allusion to, Elizabeth the sister, who—had the merest report, however false, of her complicity, been accepted by her family—must have become also the object of his intervention,—the more so too, as it was alleged that the queen's anger had caused her daughter to leave her home.

The only particle of truth contained in the vile invention concerning the Princess Palatine was, that the latter, prompted thereto by her

own heroic nature and by her worship of her family honour, had, like her brother Charles Louis, conceived that Philip's conduct called for no excuse, and, with her accustomed frankness, had said as much to her mother; and in the first outbreak of the latter's wrath, had boldly defended the fugitive prince. This was enough to occasion, and really did produce, considerable disunion in the interior of the Electoral family, and probably might, in some degree, have been the motive of the somewhat long absence made by Elizabeth from the Hague. During nearly a year, the Princess Palatine sought repose from domestic dissensions in the society of her cousin, the Great Elector, at Berlin (still unmarried even then) and in that of his mother at her residence of Koopen, on the Oder; but at the expiration of her visits she returned, a perfectly welcome inmate, to her mother's house.

In Bromley's "Royal Letters," there exists an undated one from the Palatine to his mother, wherein the ensuing passage testifies the good intelligence reigning between the Queen of Bohemia and her eldest daughter:—"My sister in all her letters to me, constantly alluded to her happiness at seeing the graciousness of your majesty towards her, and often repeats that as her greatest ambition is to stand, with your other children, high in your esteem, so would her

greatest punishment consist, should you ever be dissatisfied with her, in a return of your former coldness. Should she ever deserve this, I should the strongest condemn her; for inasmuch as I have received so much favour at your Majesty's hands, is it my duty to see that none of us all ever fail in the duty and obedience that we owe to you."

The warm reception given to the Princess Palatine amongst her relatives in Prussia would be alone enough to contradict the fact of any report having circulated touching her moral complicity in her brother's rash though perhaps excusable deed, and that this reception was the warmest possible, we need only recur to Descartes' letters at the very moment to perceive. "So highly esteemed and cherished as is your highness by your family," writes Descartes, "you appear to me now to possess nearly every good that may be reasonably desired on earth." And in another letter (March, 1647), "The happiness your highness is enjoying where you at present are," writes he, "prevents me from venturing to wish for your return here, although I with difficulty refrain from so doing, particularly being, as I am, at the Hague, and remarking from your letter of the 21st February, that you must not be expected home before the end of the summer.

I shall, consequently, undertake a journey to France."

This journey was, however, not undertaken before the return of his royal friend; for when the philosopher started for Paris, whither he was called by affairs, he left the Princess Palatine re-installed under her mother's roof, but suffering from illness. Later we shall often find her amongst her Berlin friends, and that for somewhat prolonged periods of time, but between these visits, we may always trace her return to her maternal home, as long as the Queen of Bohemia continued to inhabit Holland.

CHAPTER XV.

COURANT'S MEMOIRS—CURIOUS ANECDOTE—PRINCE EDWARD'S MARRIAGE TO ANNE DE GONZAGUE—HIS CONVERSION, AND JOY OF THE COURT OF FRANCE—ANNE DE GONZAGUE'S HISTORY WITH THE DUC DE GUISE—HER FLIGHT TO BRUSSELS—M. DE GUISE AND MADEMOISELLE DE PONS—THE PRINCE DE CONDE—ANNE DE GONZAGUE'S EARLY EDUCATION—HER SISTERS, MARIE AND BENEDICTE—DEATH OF THE DUC DE NEVERS—DEATH OF THE PRINCESS BENEDICTE—ANNE'S FIDELITY TO ANNE OF AUSTRIA—HER CONDUCT TO THE KING AND QUEEN OF POLAND—HER CONVERSION FROM SIN—HER CURIOUS DREAM—THE LAST TWELVE YEARS OF HER LIFE—HER SINCERE REPENTANCE—THE PRINCESS OF BOHEMIA'S SEVERITY TOWARDS HER.

PRINCE EDWARD was the first of the Palatine family who married, and we have seen what a sensation was produced among his nearest relatives by his marriage. After witnessing the despair of the Protestant Princess of Bohemia at her brother's conversion, it may not be without interest to remark the exultation felt by the Catholic Court of France upon the same event.

"Whilst her many perfections," says Bossuet,

"fixed upon Anne de Gonzague the eyes of all Europe, Prince Edward, son of the Elector Frederick V, King of Bohemia, deserved and won her. She preferred to the greatest wealth, the virtues of this prince, and an alliance whereon all sides were only to be found kings. She led him to seek spiritual instruction, and he soon recognized the errors into which the last of his line, forgetful of his faith, had plunged him. Oh, happy omen for the Electoral House! The prince's conversion was followed by that of the Princess Louisa, his sister, whose virtues make the saintliness of the Monastery of Maubuisson shine forth in soft glories over the entire church —and these first-fruits of grace have drawn down such blessings on the Palatine race, that we now at length behold it returned to Catholicism in the person of its chief. The marriage of the Princess Anne was the beginning of the whole."

We shall return to Bossuet again, since nowhere better than in his funeral oration upon her do we find a true sketch of what was Anne de Gonzague. Meanwhile, however severely he may show himself towards the subject of his sermon, there are some portions of her history previous to her marriage on which the eloquent Bishop of Meaux deems it either unadvisable or unnecessary to touch. We find, extracted from

the manuscript papers of Courant (preserved in the library of the Arsenal) the following curious anecdote in M. Cousin's recent history of Madame de Longueville:—"Upon the death of the Prince de Joinville in 1639, the brother who succeeded him was that famous Henri, first Archbishop (named) of Rheims, and later, Duc de Guise, famous for his adventures, his valour, and his légèreté, who nurtured every ambition, conceived every plan, and succeeded in nothing, not even in becoming a hero of romance. After the death of his father and elder brother, he made his peace with Richelieu, and returned to the court; scarcely a year had elapsed but he was plotting against Richelieu with the Comte de Soissons, and forced to fly from France. While yet Archbishop of Rheims he had fallen in love with the beautiful Anne de Gonzague, destined later to become the Princess Palatine; he had bound himself to her by a formal promise of marriage duly signed, and when she, foolishly counting upon his word, fled to Brussels to rejoin him, calling herself already Madame de Guise, she found her lover had just espoused the Comtesse de Bossu. Of this lady M. de Guise soon got tired, and in turn, abandoning her, he returned to Paris when Richelieu and Louis XIII were no more."*

* The remainder of the history of M. de Guise is curious

Anne de Gonzague had been originally intended for the seclusion of the cloister, and it was generally believed she was to occupy the position of Abbess of the Convent of Faremoutier, where she was brought up. In infancy she lost her mother, Catherine of Lorraine, and it was her father, the Duc de Nevers, who placed

enough. On his return to Paris, he began by paying court to Madame de Montbazon. "Afterwards," continues M. Cousin, "he fell violently in love with Mdlle. de Pons, one of Anne of Austria's ladies, very pretty and a great coquette. He wished to marry her; he ran off to Rome to get his first marriage annulled, and at the same time took occasion to try the chance of offering a crown to his new mistress, by putting himself at the head of the insurrection at Naples. He arrives, spite of a thousand dangers, commits fault upon fault, performs prodigies of valour, without evincing any political or military talent, is made prisoner by the Spaniards, entreats Condé, then, alas! all-powerful in Spain, to obtain his release, promising him absolute devotion, and, once his release by this intervention procured, turns his back upon Condé, goes over to Mazarin, joins in all that is done against his liberator, and brings an action against Mdlle. de Pons, of whom he wanted to make a queen of Naples, in order to recover the furniture and jewels he had given her. He is made Grand Chamberlain, and his only use appears to be to parade at the fêtes of the court; when he passes by along with Condé the people say: 'There goes the fabulous hero by the side of the historical one,'—and thus he ends, carrying with him into the grave the illustrious race of the Guises, that deserved a better fate. He died in 1664. On his arrival in Paris, in 1643, he belonged to the faction of the 'Importants,' and marvellously well fitted to them he was, for he was brilliant, incapable, and vain."

her under the guidance of the venerable Mère Françoise de la Châtre, then Abbess of Sainte Fare. "She then loved everything in a religious life," says Bossuet; "even its austerities and its humiliations; and during twelve years that she inhabited this monastery, she gave proofs of such intelligence and such modesty that it was difficult to decide whether she were fittest to command or to obey." The years that followed her return to the world, and witnessed the development of her intellectual faculties, afforded strong evidence of her aptness to lead others rather than be led by them; but we will not anticipate: Marie de Gonzague, afterwards Queen of Poland, had conceived, as eldest daughter of her house, the idea that her sisters were to be entirely subservient to her, and that their portions were to augment hers. Accordingly, the youngest of the three, Bénédicte, was, in her early childhood, made Abbess of Avenai, and grew up without an aspiration being allowed to stray beyond her convent walls. At the death of the Abbess of Sainte Fare, Anne joined her sister, who really was a model of virtue and piety; and had things remained for a greater length of time as they then were, it is probable that the future Princess Palatine would have voluntarily embraced a religious life. But the death of their father, the Duc de Nevers and Mantua, called both the

sisters to Paris for the settlement of their family affairs. In the midst of her endeavours to conciliate contradictory interests and ambitions, the fair Abbess of Avenai died, and Anne de Gonzague was left alone in the world; alone in the very centre of the most magnificent, if not the most moral, court in Europe; alone and unprotected against the dangers of her own dazzling beauty, her talents, and her inborn capacity for politics. "Mistress of her own will," observes Bossuet again, "she saw the world, and was seen by it; soon she felt how much she pleased, and there is no need to tell the subtle poison that vanity instilled into her young heart. All her pious resolves were forgotten."

In the midst of this, to her, novel existence, —already, as we have seen, varied by more than one *affaire de cœur*—Anne made acquaintance with the Prince Palatine Edward, and married him. His life was not a long one, and he died, at the age of thirty-eight, in 1663, leaving three daughters, one of whom espoused John, Duke of Hanover. Both during her husband's life, and after her widowhood, the Princess Anne is incontestibly one of the foremost personages in France, and during the Fronde, and the divers troubles of Anne of Austria's regency, her influence may be everywhere perceived. "Faithful throughout to the State and to the Queen,"

says the authority we have already quoted, "she possessed the secrets of all parties; so perspicacious was she, and so easy was it for her to win all hearts and obtain each one's confidence! She invariably declared to the heads of the several factions how far she could engage herself, and was ever true to her promises; all knew her incapable of deceiving, and believed her incapable of being deceived. But the peculiarity of her character was the tact of conciliating opposite interests, and, as she rose above them herself, finding the one spot whereby they might be brought to join."

Whatever might be the faults and failings of the Princess Palatine Anne—and, alas! they were but too numerous—want of elevation and generosity was not to be reckoned among them, and this her conduct towards her sister Marie would alone suffice to prove. When, by the invasion of the Swedes under Charles-Gustavus, the King of Poland and his wife were obliged to fly from their kingdom and country, the first manifestation of sympathy, the first sign of assistance, came from the Princess Anne, who, in the midst of her own difficulties, sold nearly all she could dispose of, to send a hundred thousand livres to a sister she had never loved, and whose desire had been to seclude her totally

from the world. The hand first stretched forth to help the unfortunate Ladislas belonged to her who, whilst she was his own sister-in-law, stood also in precisely the same degree of relationship to the princess whom he had so long and so vainly hoped to espouse—to Elizabeth, princess of Bohemia.

Between the latter and Anna Gonzague there existed but small sympathy, and we may be excused for imagining that if a portion of the grief felt by Elizabeth for her brother's marriage was caused by his change of faith, the rest took its source in the profound disapproval of the wife he had chosen.

The day and the hour came, nevertheless, when the Princess Palatine, abjuring all her errors, returned humble and repentant to the religion she had outraged, and by the fervour and sincerity of her conversion forced those even to admire her who had most condemned. The famous Abbé de La Trappe, M. de Rancé, who, like herself, had but too deeply tasted of the world's worst joys, was so struck by the return of the Princess Anne to holier feelings, that he prevailed on her to write the history of her redemption from infidelity. In doing so, she herself admits that she had arrived at such a point, that whenever the truths of Christianity

were mentioned in her presence, she with difficulty could restrain a laugh; and "the greatest miracle of all would have been," says she, "to induce me to believe any part of what Christians are taught."

Like Descartes, the Princess Palatine was visited by a dream, which produced upon her an extraordinary effect. She dreamed she was in a forest, and that she met a blind man who spoke to her of the glories of the sun; she expressed surprise at his appreciation of an object he had never *seen*, to which he answered, that, although he had never beheld the sun, yet he firmly *believed* it to be all that he had said, and therefore *knew* it was so. "My example," he then added with an air of authority, "should teach you that many are the admirable and excellent things which escape our *sight*, and which are not the less true because we can neither comprehend nor even imagine them."

When she awoke, Anne de Gonzague was an altered person, and—it is her own assertion—she was henceforward animated by a belief as firm in the truths she could "neither touch nor see," as her incredulity had hitherto been inflexible. From this hour her life was really edifying, and she affronted bravely the enemy most difficult to encounter in the world in

which she lived—ridicule—without flinching, and without allowing the equanimity of her temper to be disturbed thereby. During twelve years, and until the moment of her death, the Princess Anne was remarkable for the simplicity of her attire, the dignified modesty of her deportment, and the immutable regularity of the pious practices to which herself and her entire household were subjected, from which not even illness could dispense, and wherein she seemed to find her sole consolation for so many wasted years. Solitude and silence appeared now best to please her, whose early life had been all business and tumult; not a word more of bitterness or scandal on those lips, which were once unscrupulous when an enemy was in the case; no vanity there, where all had been self-glorification; and in place of her former pride and ambitious desires, an humble active charity, that seemed never to find veils enough to hide its workings, or the station of its objects of sufficient lowliness.

Much should certainly be forgiven the Princess Anne; and, probably, had their faith been the same, her sister-in-law would have forgiven her all; but Elizabeth was of a school where those only were esteemed who have never failed —never perhaps been tempted—and for the

somewhat severely virtuous grandchild of Juliana of Nassau, the repentance, however ardent, of her erring sister, came too late. Examples nearer home, which she could not openly condemn, seem, instead of more indulgent, to have rendered, in this respect, Elizabeth more harsh.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PRINCESS SOPHIA—TRANSMISSION OF DESCARTES' LETTERS—THE BEAUTY AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE DUCHESS OF HANOVER—CHEVREAU'S ADMIRATION OF HER—THE PRINCESS PALATINE'S VISIT TO KROSSEN — HER COUSIN THE PRINCESS HEDWIGE—THE PRINCESS PALATINE AT BERLIN—THE ELECTRESS LOUISA OF NASSAU—WHAT BERLIN WAS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—FIRST KNOWLEDGE OF CARTESIANISM BROUGHT TO PRUSSIA BY ELIZABETH—FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DUISBERG—THE IMPRESSION PRODUCED BY ELIZABETH—HER POLITICAL STUDIES—APPRECIATION OF MACHIAVEL—DESCARTES' LETTER UPON "THE PRINCE"—HIS RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE PRINCESS PALATINE.

It is during the first absence of the Princess of Bohemia from her family at the Hague, that we begin to make acquaintance with Sophia, then a girl of sixteen, but who, whilst she promised in beauty to surpass all her sisters, already afforded proofs of that intellectual superiority, which in later years gained so lofty a place for her amongst the sovereigns of Europe. Descartes' letters to the Princess Elizabeth were confided to her

younger sister, and she it was who undertook their safe conveyance to Krossen or Berlin.

Although in most editions of Descartes' works, the notes by which he accompanied his communications to the elder Princess, are addressed to her sister Louisa, it is now generally admitted that they were written to the Princess Sophia: the Abbess of Maubuisson invariably denied having had anything to do with the transmission of the great philosopher's correspondence, and said that it was her sister Sophia who had taken charge of it—this is also far more natural. Between Louisa, the sole pre-occupation of whose intelligence was limited to the arts, and Descartes, there could be no possible affinity, whereas it is easy to conceive the future friend of Leibnitz seizing the earliest opportunity of being brought into closer contact with the most illustrious thinker of the age. Besides this, there is in one of Descartes' notes a proof that he is addressing Sophia and not Louisa, when in the following passage he writes:—

"When angels vouchsafe to appear to men, they can scarcely leave behind them traces of deeper admiration and respect than have been impressed upon my mind by the letter with which you have just honoured me. I see thereby that not only do your Highness's features merit that you should be compared with angels,

and chosen as a model by those limners who would represent celestial beauty, but that the graces of your mind are such that philosophers must be called upon to appreciate and esteem them, and to recognize their excellence," &c., &c.

Now, Louisa's age was so near to that of her elder sister, that during his sojourn in Holland Descartes must have known perfectly what value had the "graces of her mind," and no letter of hers would have been required to reveal them to him, whereas the first serious lines that fell from the pen of her, who in his recollection was little more than a mere child, might well have elicited from him the above-quoted expressions of admiration, largely mingled with surprise.

Sophia was the only one of the Electoral Princesses who, joining beauty to the graver attractions of science, possessed, besides both, the royal grace, the charm of her mother's manner. She was in this point of view, a genuine Stuart, and merited fully what was proverbially said of her, namely, that she was "the most perfect lady in Europe."

Many years later, Chevreau, the friend of the Elector Charles Louis, was so struck by the various perfections of the Duchess of Hanover, that he openly entered the lists against the famous Father Bouhours, who affirmed the German race to be utterly destitute of whatever in

France comes under the denomination of *esprit.* "I honour and respect Father Bouhours," says the above-mentioned French author, "but I must needs object to him, that in all France there exists no one of a more excellent wit (point d'esprit plus charmant) than the Duchess Sophia, as there is also no one more deeply instructed in philosophical science than her sister, the Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia."

When the Princess Palatine left her mother's retreat at the Hague, it was to divide her time during the ensuing year between the Court of Berlin and the Château of Krossen, the abode of her aunt, the mother of the Great Elector. One of the chief attractions of this latter residence for Elizabeth, was the presence of her cousin the Princess Hedwige Sophia, who subsequently espoused the Landgraf of Hesse, William IV, and was at his death so distinguished as Regent of the country over which her son was to reign.

When we reflect upon the salutary influence of this Princess over the lands which she was called upon to govern, upon the strength of character she displayed, the mental elevation to which she attained, and the place occupied by her in German history, the following passage in Baillet's "Life of Descartes," becomes doubly interesting :—

"Elizabeth," says the biographer, "during the

long and frequent visits she made to Krossen, found her greatest pleasure in forming the heart and mind of her youthful cousin; and with such loving persistance did she teach, and such fruits did her teaching bear, that her pupil grew into one of the most remarkable persons of her time."

Not only was the *Schloss* at Krossen a delightful house for the Princess of Bohemia, but at Berlin, in addition to the Great Elector himself, she soon met again one of her dearest friends and compánions of the Hague—Louisa of Nassau, the daughter of the Prince of Orange, recently married (December, 1646) to Frederick William of Brandenburg. To this princess, Elizabeth had always been from childhood warmly attached, nor was that attachment diminished, but, on the contrary, when she welcomed in her the bride of the hero of Führbellin, of the glorious prince between whom and herself so profound a sentiment of friendship (even supposing it at no period to have deserved a warmer name) had for so many years existed. A German writer, speaking of Elizabeth's first visit to the Prussian capital,* makes the following remarks: "Berlin, the metropolis of the country, and residence of the court, was at the end of the

* Guhrauer.

Thirty Years' War, very far from possessing or meriting the renown it acquired towards the close of the seventeenth century, under the reign of the first King of Prussia, Frederick I, and his queen, Sophia Charlotte. It was not yet the seat of art and learning it came to be later. The wounds were bleeding still that the long war had dealt the country, and, after the re-establishment of peace, years were necessary ere the genius of Frederick William could reap the benefits of his hard efforts for the national, political, and intellectual regeneration of his dominions. The ceaseless theological quarrels between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches (the former of which conceived itself persecuted since the conversion of the Court to Calvinism) precluded all idea of any higher or freer speculation in a metaphysical sense; and we need only to consult the historians of the day to be assured of the rude customs, the narrow bigotry, and dark superstition that reigned at this period over the capital of the Hohenzollerns."

There had as yet been no such thing seen in Berlin as a man whose trade was to sell books, and the presses established in the town had not printed one scientific or serious work. The name of Descartes, the existence of a new philosophical system, wherewith the universities of

Holland were ringing, were unknown, unsuspected even, in the Court of Berlin. The visit of the Princess Palatine is, for this reason, a really remarkable event in the annals of Prussia. Through her came the first glimmering of light, the first revelation of all that had so long preoccupied the rest of Northern Europe. That Descartes was well aware of and was duly grateful for this, appears from the ensuing passage in a letter to his royal disciple towards the end of the year 1646: "I am not surprised," he writes, "that amongst the *savants* of the spot where you reside, your highness should find nothing but votaries of scholasticism, for I discover in Paris, and in the rest of Europe, so few others, that, had I known this sooner, I doubt whether I should ever have had any work of mine printed. . . . . I am moreover convinced, that if you had not been where you now are, I should never have been known in those regions, and my name would have remained totally unheard of had it not been for your highness."

Seven or eight years later (in 1655), Elizabeth obtained from the Great Elector the foundation of the University of Duisberg, in the duchy of Cleves, and this became in Germany the chief seat of the Cartesian philosophy, on account of the head professor, Johann Clauberg,

who had studied Cartesianism in Leyden, and was not only in high honour with Descartes, but with Leibnitz also.

Her wonderful acquirements, joined to her amiability, and to the fact of her having attained the heights of science at so young an age (she was at this period about nine-and-twenty) made of the Princess Palatine a kind of phenomenon in Berlin. We find her mentioned in this light by Buttinghausen in his "Electoral History," and by Sauerbrei in his treatise "De Eruditione Fœminarum," and the former quotes fragments of a letter written by some one who is not named, in which, describing the effect produced by Elizabeth at the Court of Brandenburg, it is said that, to the wonderment of all present, this young princess discussed the most abstruse points of philosophy and theology with the most learned men of the day, above all with the famous Thomas Knesebeck, whose admiration of her knew no bounds.

Shortly after leaving the Netherlands, we find an order in Elizabeth's own hand for all her books to be sent to her, and more than ever she appears to find solace in intellectual occupations; but, added to her favourite metaphysical studies, she now turns to politics; and it is curious to observe the subject of her first meditations, which is no other than Machiavel's so

celebrated, but so rarely well-understood, "Principe." Here, as upon every occasion, she rises superior to all prejudice, and whilst the whole European world was uniting in a conventional condemnation of the Florentine's "Essay on Governments," the daughter of the unhappy Frederick V, whilst she admits whatever is therein either reprehensible or erroneous, recognizes and fearlessly acknowledges its beauties and its truths. Upon this point, as upon most others of any importance, she requests Descartes' opinion, and his answer is not without interest: —"Your highness," he observes, "has admirably seized the defects of the work, for it is quite true that, preoccupied as he was with defending Cæsar Borgia, he has been led into establishing, as cases for general principles, certain acts, necessitated perhaps by extraordinary circumstances, but wholly inexcusable in themselves. I have read a work of his, where he was entirely unshackled by any personal consideration—I mean his Essay upon Livy—in which nothing objectionable is to be found. As to his precepts: wholly to exterminate your enemies if they cannot be converted to friends, and on no account to admit of half-measures or compromises, it is without all doubt the safest—although, where no cause for alarm exists, it is not the most generous."

The illustrious philosopher, whilst he rejoiced in any mental occupation on the part of his fair pupil, and consequently saw with a favourable eye her new political tendencies, yet feared whatever might lead her to a too frequent contemplation of the misfortunes of her own family; and his letters at this period, as at a previous one, are ever full of entreaties that she will cultivate cheerfulness as the most precious companion. On one occasion he writes:—"I go so far as to believe that internal contentment has a secret influence over fate, and attracts good luck. I would not venture to say this to any person of weak intellect, lest they should grow superstitious, but in the case of your highness I only fear lest you should laugh at my credulity. Nevertheless I have numberless examples and the authority of Socrates to support my opinion. . . . . Now, I would remind your highness, that there, where you now are, everything around you must contribute to your pleasurable sensations; do let me beg of you therefore to lend yourself largely to this general cheerfulness, and, permit me to say, you will find that easiest if you will think most of immediately surrounding objects, and merely occupy yourself with affairs when the hour comes for the departure of the courier."

More or less, we are inclined to fancy that Elizabeth followed her friend's advice, for during her whole life her action was far more intellectual than political.

CHAPTER XVII.

HOPES CONCEIVED BY THE PALATINE FAMILY—CHRISTINE OF SWEDEN —FAVOUR OF DESCARTES WITH THIS QUEEN—THE MINISTER OF FRANCE, PIERRE CHANUT—CHRISTINE'S LOVE OF LITERATURE— HER ERUDITION — CHANUT'S DETERMINATION TO MAKE HER ACQUAINTED WITH DESCARTES—THE LATTER'S LETTER TO THE PRINCESS PALATINE—SITUATION OF CHANUT AT STOCKHOLM, POLITICALLY SPEAKING—INTRIGUES OF THE FRENCH CABINET WITH BAVARIA AND AGAINST THE PALATINE HOUSE — THE LETTERS ON SENECA SENT TO CHRISTINE BY DESCARTES — SILENCE OF CHANUT TOUCHING THE PRINCESS OF BOHEMIA— ELIZABETH'S NAIVETE—THE PRINCESS PALATINE'S LETTER TO CHRISTINE — NO ANSWER! — RESENTMENT OF THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA—LETTER OF DESCARTES UPON CHARLES LOUIS'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE TREATIES OF PEACE—DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE PRINCESS PALATINE.

It was at the end of the year 1646 that an event happened, which, for a short time, seemed to offer the possibility of fresh hope to the Palatine family. We allude to Descartes' great favour with Christine of Sweden, whereby he firmly expected that he should be enabled to obtain aid for the children of Frederick V in

general, and for the Princess of Bohemia in particular.

The daughter of Gustavus Adolphus had many of her father's tendencies; and, amongst others, would have had no objection to the perilous excitements of a camp and to the stirring alternations of military life, from which she was excluded by her sex. Failing this activity (which she regretted perhaps more than has been supposed), the youthful Queen of Sweden strove to supply its place by purely intellectual occupations, and, peace once secured in Europe, she turned her mind almost entirely towards the cultivation of literature and the arts, and drew to her court all the clever and learned men who were to be tempted from more genial regions to a sojourn in the dominions of the once so redoubted "Winter King." As happened very generally in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with all those princes who submitted to the softening influence of the "Immortal Nine," Christine's attention was principally engaged by whatever passed in France, and her chief desire was to become personally acquainted with the writers whose works had charmed her since the childhood whence she was barely emerging. This wish was considerably increased by the presence of the first ambassador sent to Stockholm from France

after the peace. Pierre Chanut was not only one of the most distinguished diplomatists of the age, he was also a savant of no ordinary stamp, a linguist such as few men were, even then, and an ardent disciple of Descartes, whose personal friend he styled himself with truth, and for whose honour or welfare he would have attempted almost anything. We say *almost*, because he did not, and would not, attempt what lay most at the philosopher's heart, namely, the formation of an intimacy between the Queen of Sweden and the Princess Palatine —but of this later.

Chanut's great aim was to cement as strongly as possible the union between the Courts of France and Sweden, and he made use of Christine's predilection for French literature as an auxiliary. To awaken in her a taste for philosophical science was at first not so easy; hers was by no means a speculative nature, and, unlike the Princess of Bohemia, the vast problems of the Infinite roused within her no profound and solemn emotion. Erudition, information, that which, in a word, may be acquired (and may be so, more or less, by all men alike), these were the chief objects of her esteem, and incontestibly there would have been far more chance of her forming a friendship based on strong mutual sympathy with the scholastic

Anna Schürmann than with the daughter of Elizabeth Stuart. Of all the inborn antipathies which can neither be reasoned nor denied, none perhaps is stronger than that which has for ever existed, and will for ever exist, between the plodders in the fields of science and those to whom is lent that one spark of divine light whereby all is illuminated and made clear without labour. To comprehend at a glance, to seize instinctively, and, as it were, by the strong sympathetic force of truth within, those truths external which are rarely ever more than dimly evident to the hard-working learned, is, it would appear, gravely to offend and wound the latter; they forgive the offence as little as would a miser, who, after laying up his fortune by shilling and by penny, should see his neighbour become suddenly twice as wealthy as himself from the fact of having found a treasure at the foot of some flowering tree in his garden, or beneath some mouldering stone of his orchard-wall. The enmity between the rival races of *seekers* and *finders* will subsist when crowns and empires shall have mouldered into dust, and far more divisions and deep-rooted dislikes are attributable to it "than are dreamt of in our philosophy."

The daughter of Gustavus Adolphus was eminently what is termed a *learned lady*, and

by no means divested of the pedantry almost inseparable from mere erudition laboriously and systematically gained. She had begun by calling around her Isaac Vossius, who taught her Greek, Freinsheim, Salmasius, Couring, Bochart the orientalist, and some others of the same stamp, but all what may be termed *literati*, and not aspirants to anything of a higher order than mere "book-learning." Chanut had, however, determined to bring about a close acquaintance between the Queen and Descartes, and notwithstanding all the difficulties of the case, he succeeded. Whilst he put into Christine's hands the "Meditations," translated into French, he, at the same time, found means of awakening in Descartes a strong interest for his royal reader. This interest was also considerably augmented by the fact of the Comte de la Thuillerie, Chanut's predecessor at Stockholm, having been sent upon a special mission to the Hague, where he met the French philosopher, to whom he vaunted the acquirements of Christine.

About this time Chanut had a discussion with the queen as to whether Love or Hate, if ill-directed, were the more pernicious. The ambassador wrote to Descartes to decide the question, and the latter replied by his famous

dissertation upon "The Nature of Love," which Christine perused with such admiration that she earnestly begged the French minister to offer the liveliest expression of it to his celebrated countryman.

Descartes' first thought, on receiving this direct proof of the Swedish queen's favour, was not for himself, but for the Princess Palatine. It seemed to him natural, inevitable almost, that the children of two champions of the same cause, of two chiefs who had been more united even in death than life, that two young women whose habitual pursuits were so similar, should end by forming an indissoluble friendship. But Descartes counted without Christine's vanity and eccentricity, as the sequel will show. No sooner had he answered Chanut's letter, than he instantly wrote to Elizabeth, then still in Berlin (1647) imparting to her the hopes he entertained for the advantage of her house :—

"The way in which M. Chanut describes to me the queen," writes he, "and the words he repeats as coming from her, give me so high an opinion of her that I believe her worthy of the intimacy I allude to; and so few in this world can be worthy of it, that I feel sure your highness will do well to establish with her a close friendship, which cannot be other than easy for

you to accomplish. Not only will you derive from it much intellectual satisfaction, but in many other respects it will be vastly desirable."

However "easy" this friendship may have seemed to Descartes, it was to be numbered amongst things impossible, and perhaps even the great anxiety he evinced for its realization was one of the main reasons of its failure. He lost no opportunity of speaking of the Princess of Bohemia in all his letters to Chanut, so that the French minister, reading all those he received to the queen, the latter became tired of, if not annoyed at, the eternal praises of her rival, and soon grew secretly to detest her very name. Politically speaking, nothing seemed so probable as that sympathy should spring up between the Palatine family and the Court of Sweden, particularly at the moment when the negotiations for the treaty of peace were going on so actively at Osnabrück and Münster; but even in this respect there were greater obstacles than were imagined. True, it was Sweden who, in the previous year, had taken charge of representing the interests of the Palatine family at the foot of the Emperor's throne against Bavaria, and some few months after, Christine herself had written to the Elector Charles Louis to assure him of her lively sympathy for his misfortunes, and to promise that the honour

and interests of his House should be supported on her side by diplomacy, and even, if necessary, by arms;—but the French Cabinet was won over by Bavaria, and had already resolved that all means should be tried to prevent the successor of Frederick V from regaining his father's position in Germany. The alliances of the Palatine family with Calvinism in France itself, were a sufficient cause for this; and after Richelieu's agents, during the negotiations of the year 1646, had well nigh obtained the victory over Sweden, the latter power, in 1647, spontaneously gave up all opposition to the Franco-Bavarian projects. Upon this apparent unity of views between Sweden and France, were based the portentous treaties of October 1648, whereby Charles Louis was deprived of the fifth electorate of the Empire and of the Upper Palatinate, both of which went to Bavaria, whilst he was obliged to content himself with the newly-founded eighth electoral dignity and with the Lower Palatinate, on the immediate banks of the Rhine.

This slight *aperçu* of the situation of the different European Cabinets, will suffice to make it clear that Descartes could not have chosen a worse instrument for the execution of his plans touching Christine and Elizabeth than the French ambassador, who, the more he penetrated the real

object of his illustrious friend, became the more cautious lest any word or act of his should further it. Chanut, all this while, be it remarked, partook entirely of Descartes' admiration for the Princess of Bohemia, and would, *personally*, have done anything to serve her, but as to any ulterior political scheme, he necessarily did his best (at the very least negatively) to thwart it. The silence he invariably opposed to all Descartes' communications touching the Princess Elizabeth ended by exciting his correspondent's surprise, and, writing to Berlin at the end of the year 1647, the philosopher tries to explain this persistant silence to his royal friend by alleging for it the probability of some purely political reason. But it was enough for Descartes, who, we confess, in his quality of courtier and man of the world, appears to us to have guessed somewhat tardily the true position of matters as regarded the French minister; and who now resolved to address himself directly to Christine herself. The opportunity of doing so was not long waited for. Dissatisfied with a discourse written at her express desire by Professor Freinsheim, the Swedish queen besought Chanut to request that Descartes would undertake the handling of the same subject, which was no other than the question of "the Sovereign Good," and Chanut, in executing her com-

mission, advised Descartes to send his letter at once to the queen herself. The latter seized the occasion instantaneously, and sent to Christine the six letters upon Seneca's "De Vitâ Beatâ," addressed originally to Elizabeth, adding thereto the "Essay on the Passions," written solely for the latter princess. Both the Princess Palatine and her teacher must have been singularly ignorant of the workings of vanity in a woman's heart, and few things prove more in favour of Elizabeth than the naïveté and simplicity with which she imagined that proofs of her superiority could be productive on Christine's part of a desire for her nearer acquaintance. As to Descartes, his blindness seems incurable to the last, for again this time he sends the whole parcel of papers for the queen to Chanut, adding in the letter he writes to him: "If I had ventured to join to my own writings those I received in answer to them from the princess to whom they are addressed, the collection would have been far more complete, but I could not have done this without a special permission, and the person who could give it is very far from hence."*

Notwithstanding that no notice was taken of all these attempts to excite the Queen of

* Elizabeth was at this period in Berlin.

Sweden's interest for the Princess Palatine, the latter seems to have built so firmly upon their (*supposed*) conformity of tastes for necessarily establishing an intimacy between them, that, in the summer of 1648, whilst Descartes was in Paris, she wrote herself to Christine, and her plan was, in case of a favourable reply, to pay a visit to Stockholm without delay. But no reply ever came, and that which had been looked forward to with almost certain hope, turned, on the contrary, to one of the bitterest humiliations yet endured by the luckless family of Frederick V.

Elizabeth Stuart never forgave the daughter of Gustavus the affront she had inflicted on her own child, and years after, when Christine had abdicated crown and throne, and the exiled Queen of Bohemia happened to be in Brussels at the same time with herself, the mother of the Princess Palatine resolutely refused the request transmitted to her, that she would consent to be presented to the ex-queen of the Swedes. As to the Princess Palatine herself, she sought to adopt the belief that some unaccountable accident had prevented her receiving the answer she expected, and Descartes tried by every means in his power to strengthen her in this conviction, but he was not the less hurt and annoyed that upon his six letters on Seneca's "De Vitâ Beatâ" he never obtained the slight-

est notice from Christine. The queen thanked him for the "Essay on the Passions," but also without once alluding to the long and important dedicatory epistle to the Princess of Bohemia whereby it was accompanied. Still a last illusion comforted him occasionally. He hoped that a want of confidence in the Palatine family generally might be the cause of this inflexible coldness; and in the fears entertained by most diplomatists lest Charles Louis should not accept the decision of Osnabrück and Münster, he endeavoured to discover a reason for the maintenance of a strongly reserved attitude towards his sister. Upon this point he therefore immediately wrote to the Princess Palatine, saying that, if he could have for an instant doubted the Elector's acceptance of the treatise of peace he should have taken upon himself to write sooner. "Speaking in a general way," he continues in this remarkably statesmanlike letter, "when the restitution of any territory is contemplated, which is actually occupied by an adverse party disposing of sufficient force to keep it, those who have only right and equity on their side should never count upon obtaining all they desire, and, instead of being angry with the retainer of a part, should be filled with gratitude towards those who succeed in restoring to them no matter how small a portion of their own. It

cannot be deemed strange that they should contend for their rights so long as those who dispose of a greater force are deliberating thereupon, but once the discussion closed, I think prudence requires that they should affect a satisfaction they perhaps do not feel, and that they should thank not alone the powers who have helped to restitute something to them, but those also who have consented not to take from them *all;* by this means much ill-will and hatred is avoided which might be fatal afterwards. . . . . The least part of the Palatinate is better worth than all the empire of the Tartars and Muscovites, and after some few years of peace the residence therein will be the most delightful in the world."

In the beginning of this letter, Descartes seizes the opportunity of presenting the conduct of the Queen of Sweden towards Elizabeth in a light which may less wound the latter. "I have received," he says, "a letter from a person from whom I scarcely expected to hear again. She thanks me for my "Essay on the Passions." Now, if after so very long a period (a whole year) she remembers so obscure a person as I am, it is evident she will not forget to reply to your highness, although she has delayed four months." Poor Elizabeth! the failure of so

many hopes brought on a constant recurrence of bodily illness, whereof her well-placed pride strove invariably to disguise the cause. Privations of every sort fell to her share, and in the disappointment inflicted on her by the Queen of Sweden there mingled considerations prompted by little short of absolute want.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHARLES LOUIS AND THE TREATIES OF PEACE—THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES I—THE PRINCESS PALATINE'S GRIEF AND ILLNESS—DESCARTES' LETTER TO HER ON THE SUBJECT—DESCARTES' INVITATION TO STOCKHOLM—HIS REQUEST TO ELIZABETH—HIS JOURNEY TO SWEDEN, AND OPINION OF QUEEN CHRISTINE—NO JEALOUSY!—CHRISTINE'S TOILETTE AND MASCULINE HABITS—HER LOVE OF GREEK—DESCARTES' DISLIKE TO THE SWEDISH CLIMATE—HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH—M. CHANUT'S LETTER TO THE PRINCESS PALATINE—HER APPRECIATION OF DESCARTES—HER RESOLUTION NOT TO LET HER LETTERS BE PUBLISHED—IMPOSSIBILITY OF ANY HOPE OF AID FROM SWEDEN—CHANGE OF CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE PALATINE FAMILY—WHAT THE PRINCESS PALATINE LOST BY DESCARTES' DEATH—HIS WORDS OF CONSOLATION.

DESCARTES needed not to have preoccupied himself about the conduct of Charles Louis; the Elector was one of those persons in whom prudence, if it were not an instinct, would be the ruling virtue of life. On the 22nd of December, 1648, he had written from London to signify his acceptation of the treaties of peace, and his readiness to avail himself of decisions

which, after thirty years' exile, enabled him at length to revisit his native land.

Never was a ray of pleasure destined to shine unshaded over the unfortunate Palatine House, never fell a drop of balm unmixed with poison upon the aching hearts of Elizabeth Stuart and her children. Little more than a month after her eldest son had been restored to a part of his birthright, her brother laid his kingly head upon the block, and the first month of the year 1649 witnessed the ruthless, lawless blow that struck down the chivalrous descendant of Mary Queen of Scots.

How far the Princess of Bohemia's latent republicanism may, in the abstract, have excused the fact of a people "righting its own cause,"—as the defenders of revolution termed it,—does not appear, but the awful tragedy whereof her uncle was the victim went so home to all her gentler feelings, that a protracted and alarming illness was the result. Before he had had time to take possession of his own restored dominions, the Elector Charles Louis hurried from England to the Hague, the bearer to his mother of the bloody tidings of Charles's death; and in this moment of horror the Queen of Bohemia seems to have found more complete sympathy, more kindred suffering, in her eldest daughter than in any of her other children. If any de-

grce, however slight, of estrangement, had ever existed between the widowed Electress and the Princess Palatine, all was for ever effaced by the tears they shed together over the King of England's untimely fate; and from this hour there was certainly, until the queen's death, no even temporary cessation in the lively feelings of attachment which united mother and child.

As usual, in all the great crises of her life, the Princess Palatine, as soon as she is able to hold a pen, writes to her unalterable friend, her master, Descartes, and his answer is one of the strongest proofs of the high tone of stoicism on which their mutual friendship was founded. "Amongst many sad tidings which I received at the same time," says the philosopher in his letter, "the saddest news of all was the announcement of your highness's illness; and though I now know of its cure, yet it leaves me still a feeling of sorrow that I find it impossible to efface. Your highness tells me of your strong wish to make verses during your malady, and I am thereby remembered of what Plato recounts of Socrates, who, whilst in prison, was pursued by a similar desire. I believe that this inclination for verse proceeds from an agitation of the animal spirits strong enough in weak heads to overturn entirely the whole economy of the imagination, but that in firm and gene-

rous natures it merely predisposes towards poetry; and I hold it as a sure sign of a mind stronger and more elevated than those of ordinary mortals. If I did not know in how great a degree your nature rises above others, I should have been seriously alarmed at the effect likely to be produced upon you by the conclusion of the tragedies in England; but I build upon the fact of your highness's being well used to fortune's frowns, and I recognize that the danger of death, whence you have yourself so newly escaped, must diminish in some measure your surprise and horror at the catastrophe of so near a relative. You must necessarily be less struck down by it than if affliction were a stranger to you. Although the death we speak of, being so violent, may seem at first far worse than that which is met in a man's bed, yet, if all be well considered, in how much is it more glorious and more sweet! This should console your highness. It is surely something to die in a way which commands universal pity—to leave the world, praised and mourned by whoever partakes of human sentiments. It is undeniable that, without his last trial, the gentleness and other virtues of the dead king would never have been so remarked and so esteemed as they will be in future by whoever shall read his history. I am likewise persuaded that in

the last hours of his life, his forgiving conscience caused him far more satisfaction than his indignation (alleged to be the only weakness observable in him) ever caused him pain. As to what regards his mere bodily sufferings, I do not account them as anything, for they are so short, that, could assassins use a fever or any of the ills that Nature employs to snatch men from the world, they might with reason be considered much more cruel than when they destroy life with the short sharp blow of an axe. I dare not, however, prolong my reflections upon this fatal subject, but I will add that, at all events, it is infinitely better to be completely delivered from every shadow of false hope than to be perpetually and uselessly fostering an illusion."

High-toned and manly as was undoubtedly the attachment between the Princess Palatine and Descartes, there is something in this letter that surpasses in stoicism all the rest; and the more one peruses it, the more one feels convinced that there is an unnatural degree of reasonableness in it, and that it was written for the express purpose of preventing on the part of the Princess any effusion of sentiment, which, in the uncertain state of her health, might have been followed by disastrous consequences. Descartes, with a steady hand, evidently sought

to cauterize a wound, but it is much to the honour of his royal disciple that no doubt should exist in his mind of her being able to support the cure.

At the period when Descartes wrote the letter we have quoted to the Princess of Bohemia (in the spring of 1649), his friend Chanut had been sent by the French Court to Lubeck to assist in negotiating a peace between Poland and Sweden, and in passing through Holland, he delivered to the illustrious philosopher the request expressed by the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, that he would visit her at Stockholm. Christine's desire to make his personal acquaintance had become exceedingly strong, and she had hoped he would not let the spring months pass by without acceding to it. Nevertheless, Descartes put off the journey till the middle of summer, and at the end of May we find him announcing only to the Princess Elizabeth, then in Berlin, his intention of going later to Stockholm. The welfare of his beloved pupil, the possibility he may himself command of forwarding that welfare, —these are the things which principally preoccupy him; and one clearly sees that, without the chance of benefiting the Princess Palatine, Descartes would never have consented to visit the inclement land, which in so short a time

was to possess only his ashes. I have put off this journey," writes he in the letter above alluded to, "for many reasons, but principally in order that I might have the honour of receiving your highness's special commands before my departure. I have so publicly and constantly declared my devotion and zeal for your service that it would be more natural to think unfavourably of me if I manifested any indifference to what touches you, than if I seek out, on the contrary, every occasion to discharge what is in fact my duty. Therefore do I supplicate your highness most humbly to favour me so as far to instruct me upon every point where you think I can be of service either to you or yours, and to be assured that you possess the same power over me as if I had been all my life your slave (autant de pouvoir que si j'avais été toute ma vie ton domestique). I entreat you also to let me know what you wish me to answer, if I should be put in mind of your highness's letters upon 'the Supreme Good,' which I had mentioned last year in my correspondence, and which there might be some curiosity to see. I intend to spend the winter in the country I am alluding to, and only to return thence next year It is to be supposed that by that time peace will be established

throughout Germany, and if my desires are fulfilled, I shall wend my homeward road through the spot where you may be, in order to be able personally to reiterate to your highness the expression of those sentiments I shall never cease to devote to you."

Peace was in Germany, as Descartes foresaw, but he who predicted it was not there to enjoy its blessings. After a nine months' residence at the court of Christine, the illustrious philosopher fell a victim to the severity of the climate, and died of an inflammation of the lungs, at the age of fifty-three. The last letter he wrote to the Princess Elizabeth,* although written at the period of his arrival at Stockholm, is curious, not only from the particulars it contains touching the queen, but also from the presentiments it marks of the writer's being unable to support the country he was then living in.

After a twenty years' residence in Holland, Descartes, in the month of October, 1649, landed in Stockholm, and the first time he took

* This is, at least, the last letter preserved from Descartes to Elizabeth, though it is difficult to suppose that during the six months that elapsed until the epoch of his death, he should have held no communication with so revered a friend.

up his pen, on reaching this new abode, it was to address the following letter to his royal pupil, the Princess Palatine :—

"I have been in Stockholm but four or five days, and among the foremost things to which I am in duty bound, stands the obligation to write and offer my homage to your highness, in order that you may know how powerless is all change of land or scene to alter or diminish in any way my zealous devotion to you. I have yet seen the queen only twice, but I fancy I already know her sufficiently to be enabled to affirm that she possesses all the merits that fame ascribes to her. Besides the generosity and majesty that characterize all her dealings, she is distinguished by a gentleness and kindness which force all those who have the honour of approaching her, to consecrate themselves entirely to her service. One of the first questions she put to me was, as to 'whether I had any news from you,' and I immediately took the occasion of saying all I think of your highness; for judging, as I imagine rightly, of the queen's strong mind, I had no fear lest my proceeding should awaken in her any jealousy,*

* Descartes' naïveté as regards Christine of Sweden is either extraordinary throughout, or else philosopher as he may be, he is, in spite of himself, influenced by that courtier-like spirit, so strong in his country and his age, which

no more than I have of your highness conceiving any because I give the praise I think due to the queen. She has very strong inclinations for scientific studies; but as I do not yet know whether she is at all initiated in philosophical ones, I cannot quite determine whether she has real taste for them, or will find time to pursue them, consequently, whether I shall in fact be of any service to her. Her great ardour for literature has pushed her to learn Greek, and surround herself with classic authors;—but per-

transformed into virtues the weaknesses of royal personages, and threw over their defects an impenetrable veil. The "gentleness and kindness" which Descartes vaunts in the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus will as little suit the dark figure of that crownless queen, who has left the blood-stains of her violence upon the walls of Fontainebleau, as the "majesty" he describes as visible in all her actions will allow itself to be conciliated with the following portrait traced by Baillet: "As to the time she took to dress," says Descartes' panegyrist, "it needed in no way to be counted in the distribution of her day. In a quarter of an hour all was over, and, unless on most solemn occasions, a comb and a bit of ribbon were her sole head-dress. Her hair, thus neglected, was not unsuited to her face, of which she took so little care, that neither in town or country, neither for wind nor for rain, did she ever use mask or veil. She wore on horseback nothing but a hat with feathers, beneath which it was hard to discern her, when she added to it a mantle with a narrow collar like a man's. This absence of all attention to her person was excessive, and would even have threatened her health had she been less vigorously constituted."

haps all this may change, and should it not do so, the great virtues I observe in this princess will always constrain me to prefer whatever may be really useful to her to that which may please her best. I shall therefore never cease expressing my sentiments to her frankly, and should they not be agreeable to her ears (which, however, I don't much fear), I shall always have the satisfaction of having fulfilled my duty, and shall the sooner find the opportunity of returning to my solitude—away from which it is difficult that I should advance much in the search of truth, my one chief object and treasure in life. M. Freinsheim has made her majesty consent to my only going to the palace at such times as she wishes to do me the honour of conferring with me, so that I shall have but small pains to take in paying my court, which mightily suits my temper. Nevertheless, although I hold her majesty in very great vene ration, I do not think that any circumstance can induce me to prolong my stay in this country beyond the ensuing summer; but I cannot of course answer positively for the future—the only thing I can guarantee at all times is the sincere devotion of the sentiments I shall preserve all my life for your highness," &c. &c.

After Descartes' death, the French ambas-

sador, in whose arms he died, had no longer any reason for behaving with reserve towards the Princess Palatine; and his first act, upon the demise of their mutual friend, was to write to her a long and detailed account of the philosopher's last moments. This communication was dated 16th of April, 1650, and early in June the Princess Elizabeth replied to it by a letter, whereof unfortunately but a very few fragments have been preserved, and in which she seems to have appreciated minutely the genius and character of Descartes. "The acuteness and depth of his intelligence," she remarks, "was never so manifest as when, having to dive into the last recesses of human capacity, he marked out the boundaries within which man's intellect might attain to its full development, but beyond which it would be worse than madness to pretend." Here the Princess Palatine's knowledge of her illustrious friend served her well. Descartes' excellent judgment it was, which on all occasions stood him in such good stead, and prevented him from being led away into any of the wild or impious theories whence his disciples, in more modern times, have not been able to escape. The modesty of his royal disciple, however, has frustrated posterity of what would have served to render its estimate of Descartes even more

complete—namely, of her portion of their correspondence. After his celebrated countryman's death, Chanut forwarded to the Princess of Bohemia all her own letters, garnered up for years by her much attached and much-admiring master, but he accompanied the packet with many prayers that she would later allow these documents to be published with the works of the illustrious friend whose loss they both equally mourned. The princess was inflexible upon this point, and no trace is to be discovered of writings which during her life had sufficed to make her name famous throughout the civilized world.

With Descartes vanished the last shadow of hope (if such hope ever really existed) of obtaining any material aid from the Court of Sweden, and the Princess Elizabeth now turned her thoughts towards other places of refuge than that which an apparent community of occupations and tastes had for a moment seemed to indicate. Circumstances, too, rendered natural this change in her views, and in her own immediate family she found the protection and support, if not all the tender sympathy, she needed. But the loss of the high-souled teacher of her early years, of the generous, pure-minded friend, who fostered all her nobler instincts into maturity, was irremediable, and that, as we shall see,

in more than one respect. Mere material adversity seemed to have slackened its pursuit of the Princess Elizabeth—perhaps this was wisely ordained, since he was no longer there who taught her to turn round and with smiling stoicism await its approach. We will conclude this chapter with one of the last passages of Descartes' correspondence, wherein he seeks to prove to his fair pupil the reasonableness of courage and patience in her situation. "If your highness," he says, "compares your position with that of other queens and princesses in Europe, you will find precisely the same difference which exists between persons who have safely landed in a harbour, where they can enjoy repose and tranquillity, and those who are still at sea tossed about by tempests; supposing one to be rudely thrown into port by shipwreck—so long as the necessaries of life are not wanting—there is no reason to be less satisfied and contented than if safety had been reached in another and more peaceful fashion."

CHAPTER XIX.

TREATIES OF 1650—RETURN OF CHARLES LOUIS TO THE PALATINATE —ELIZABETH AND SOPHIA AT HEIDELBERG—THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA IN HOLLAND—HER DAUGHTER HENRIETTA—GEORGE RAGOTSKY—DEATH OF HENRIETTA—RAGOTSKY'S CAREER AND DEATH—LOUISE HOLLANDINE—HER FLIGHT FROM THE HAGUE —THE PRINCESS OF HOHENZOLLERN—HER LAWSUITS WITH THE ELECTRESS-QUEEN—LOUISE AS ABBESS OF MAUBUISSON—THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA'S RETURN TO ENGLAND — THE ELECTOR CHARLES LOUIS—HIS CHARACTER—HIS WEDDED LIFE—CHARLOTTE OF HESSE AND MADEMOISELLE DEGENFELD—CHARLOTTE'S LETTER TO THE EMPEROR—THE "BOXES ON THE EAR"—THE SWISS GUARD AND THE PISTOL — RETURN OF THE ELECTRESS CHARLOTTE TO CASSEL—CHARACTER OF CHARLOTTE OF HESSE— CONDUCT OF THE PRINCESS PALATINE UPON HER BROTHER'S MARRIAGE WITH MADEMOISELLE DE DEGENFELD.

As we have already remarked, with the year 1650 and the definitive ratification of the treaties of peace, there commenced for the sorely-tried children of Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart an era of comparative prosperity. We say "comparative," for it was in fact little more than the exchange of absolute penury for a bare competence niggardly bestowed. So long a

Charles Louis was himself a wanderer, and that he had, as head of his family, no home to offer to any of its members, Elizabeth chiefly resided, as we have said, in Berlin, at her cousin the Great Elector's court, where the hospitality she met with was a source of even greater pleasure to the donors of it than to its object; but when his dominions, or a portion of them, had been restored to the Elector, every sentiment of propriety pointed to Heidelberg as the necessary home of the princesses of the Palatine House. Thither accordingly repaired the Princess of Bohemia and her youngest sister, Sophia, then just completing her twentieth year, and one of the most remarkable and loveliest princesses of her time. Louisa remained with her mother at the Hague, and Henrietta-Maria, beautiful, amiable, and retiring (and for that reason but little known), had given her hand to the Prince of Transylvania, Ragotsky, a sort of adventurer, like Bethlem Gabor, whom he succeeded; and, although nominally a Protestant, almost as much a Mahometan as the Grand Turk, whose vassal he in fact was. In May, the gentle daughter of so many royal lines had espoused this rude chief, and the following September saw her fair head laid low—fading away like a cut flower, dying unchronicled, unnoticed, one might almost say

unmourned, so little can one discover in the annals of her family any trace of grief caused by her premature loss. Of her lord enough is known, and a few words may not be thrown away upon him.

"George Ragotsky, Prince of Transylvania," says Basnage, in his "Annales des Pays Bas," "was valiant and generous, but wanted experience, and imagined that his sole presence at the head of an army would suffice to insure to him the throne of Poland. He committed every fault consequent upon the conviction that nothing could withstand him. No discipline was observed in his army, its movements were made without precaution, towns and fortresses were neglected to right and to left, and, instead of listening to the advice of an experienced general like Wirtz, the prince followed blindly the counsels of his favourite, Kemini Janus, who caused his ruin. The crown of Poland was his great object, and three modes existed of obtaining it, all three of which some historians assert were offered to him, but without proper advantage being taken of them. The first way was to receive the crown from the Poles themselves, after the abdication and flight of Casimir; nor did this seem difficult, as the best vengeance against the King of Sweden would have been to oppose to him so powerful a rival. The

High Chancellor is said to have been sent to Ragotsky, to offer the crown to himself or to his son Francis, but it is alleged that the Transylvanian required conditions which could not be granted without calling a Diet together. Secondly, it is pretended that the King of Sweden, seeing himself obliged to evacuate the Polish territory, preferred giving it up to Ragotsky, if the latter would become his ally, to being forced to cede it to his enemy, Casimir. The existence of either or both of these possibilities is, however, doubtful; and then there remained only the last, namely, conquest—a means which Ragotsky showed but small address in employing. His wish was not to scare the populations he invaded, but to draw them towards him by an appearance of mildness, as if anything could gain the hearts of a people, attacked by a numerous and resolute army, and possessing still their king, who had only been by adverse fortune reduced to flight."

Fault after fault signalized Ragotsky's career, and in 1660, ten years after his marriage with the Princess Palatine Henrietta, he died, a victim to the revenge of the Turks, which is thus chronicled by the writer we have already quoted:—"We have seen the prince allied to Sweden, invade Poland, whence he was forced; after an ignominious peace, to fly. Scarcely had

he returned to Transylvania, than the Porte undertook to punish him for having meddled in the Polish affairs without the consent of his government. Ragotsky was declared a rebel, and an order sent to the Transylvanians to elect a new prince immediately. They elected Redey, but at the same time besought the Sultan to pardon Ragotsky. The demand was rejected, and the Bashaw of Buda insisted on the abandonment of one of the principal fortresses of Transylvania. Ragotsky, furious, threw off the mask, deposed Redey, and applied to the Emperor Leopold for assistance. The emperor promised, but did not keep his promise, and Ragotsky alone, at the head of the few troops he could yet muster and rely upon, bore down upon the Bashaw of Buda before the latter could be joined by the forces of the Bashaw of Temeswar. The Turks were completely routed, and those who were not massacred fled from the field. In manner of reprisals, Copvingli, the grand vizier of Mahomet IV, led an army of a hundred thousand men into Transylvania, and proceeded to devastate the whole country. Berklay, a Transylvanian nobleman, was named prince, and his subjects were enjoined to do homage to him under pain of death. Berklay was accused of having bought the principality from Copvingli, who,

when he had duly installed his vassal, returned to Constantinople, and even disbanded his troops. But Ragotsky was soon again up in arms, and the new sovereign of Transylvania was sent to complain of his violent deposition to the Sultan. The Bashaw of Buda was this time charged with the command of the troops, and the campaign was a decisive one. A battle was fought near Klausenburg, wherein Ragotsky performed prodigies of valour, but his troops, seeing him wounded four times, lost courage and took to flight. The prince retired to Warasdin, where he died some days after of a fever, brought on by his wounds." The same historian adds :—"The adventurous prince departed this life the same year as Charles Gustavus, King of Sweden, with whom he had united in order to conquer Poland; and like him, he died surrounded by enemies whom his ambition had created."

Such was the end of Elizabeth Stuart's strange son-in-law, the rude unpolished lord of the fair and gentle Henrietta.

The other sister, Louise Hollandine, remained alone with her mother, at the Hague, for seven years after the departure of her brothers and sisters, of whom some were dead, and the rest dispersed. On Christmas Eve, in the year 1657, she disappeared, having pro-

cured a boat at Delfshaven, which conveyed her to Antwerp. On her table she had left a letter to her mother, wherein she declared that "she felt obliged to prefer a divine vocation to the duties nature had imposed upon her," and that "having improved her religious instruction, she exchanged the Reformed Creed for that of the Church of Rome." Other letters found in her room revealed the fact of her having concerted her flight with the Margravine of Bergen-op-Zoom, Princess of Hohenzollern. Thereupon, the Queen of Bohemia, incensed beyond measure at the assistance lent her daughter in her evasion, applied to the States-General, and obtained from them a sentence whereby the Princess of Hohenzollern was deprived of her right to nominate the Magistrates of Bergen-op-Zoom. But the affair did not stop there; and the Princess of Hohenzollern in turn went direct to the Hague, where, failing in being able to approach the Electress-Queen, she addressed to her a letter, in which she distinctly affirmed that the flight of the Princess Palatine was to be ascribed to reasons very different from those assigned for it, and that love had far more to do with it than religion. At this assertion all those of the Palatine House were up in arms, excited by Elizabeth Stuart, who resolved to defend her daughter's honour against

attack. The Duke of Neubourg, Prince Rupert, and the Elector, so irritated the Princess of Hohenzollern by their insults and threats, that she prepared to adduce irrefutable proofs of what she had advanced;—but then the aspect of matters suddenly changed, and the princes, fearful no doubt of attracting greater publicity to the dispute, ceased all hostilities against their relative's detractor. Louise Hollandine repaired to France, where Louis XIV advanced her to the dignity of Abbess of Maubuisson.

As to the conduct she observed in this her new estate, historians do not much disagree on this point, notwithstanding the pompous praise awarded her by the Bishop of Alet in his funeral oration. Basnage remarks that, according to this panegyric, "one should be led to look upon the non-canonization of the princess as an injustice, if it were not for certain documents, letters, &c., besides well authenticated anecdotes, which would render her piety somewhat more than problematical;" and the Princess Palatine Charlotte Elizabeth, *Duchess of* Orleans, openly declares that her aunt gloried in what others called her shame.*

Nor did the conduct of the Princess Palatine

* "L'Abbesse de Maubuisson, Louise Hollandine, fille de Frédérick V, Electeur Palatin du temps d'Henri IV, a eu tant d'enfans naturels qu'elle jurait toujours, 'Par ce sein

Louise remain concealed: the States of Holland, fully informed of the reasons for her evasion, demanded of the States-General to annul their sentence against the Princess of Hohenzollern; and, after a good deal of contestation, this was done, and the princess reinstated in her rights and dignities, much to the annoyance of the Electress-Queen and of her niece, Mary of England, Princess of Orange.

This was not Elizabeth Stuart's last attempt against what she termed the "slanderer" of her daughter. For nine years the Princess of Sainte Croix, Duchess of Lorraine, had been pleading for the restitution of her pretended rights to the margraviate of Bergen-op-Zoom, and now, animated by the Queen of Bohemia, and protected by the Princess of Orange and the Princess Dowager, she recommenced proceedings, and obtained that an order should be passed for a final judgment in her cause, which cause however she lost, from the strong conviction prevailing in favour of the Princess of Hohenzollern.

These various events combining to render the Hague a distasteful sojourn to the Electress-Queen, and all her efforts to return to Franken-

qui a porté quatorze enfans!"—"Letters of the Princess Palatine, Duchess of Orleans,"—Letter of the 20th Feb. 1716.

thal (the once-allotted home of her widowhood) having proved fruitless, she turned her thoughts towards her native country, and at the restoration of her nephew, Charles II, left Holland for ever. She did not long survive her return to England, and died in 1662. But we have somewhat anticipated the course of events.

When Charles Louis reassumed his position as Elector Palatine, in virtue of the treaties of 1650, his eldest and youngest sister took up their abode at Heidelberg, leaving the other two princesses, as we have said, with the Queen of Bohemia at the Hague. Of the brothers, Philip was but lately dead, Edward married in France, and Rupert and Maurice—the inseparables—were knight-erranting it at Lisbon, at the head of their little fleet.

Of the chief of the Palatine Family—of the Elector Charles Louis—much might be said, if the limits or the purport of this volume would allow it, for in his singular nature were capriciously combined most of the various attributes of his divers ancestors. Avaricious as James I, and, like him, devoted to abstruse study; from time to time the chivalrous spirit of the Bourbons would burst forth, as in his letters of provocation to Turenne;* whilst in his conduct

* It should be remembered that Turenne and the Elector

towards Louisa of Degenfeld, and his repudiated consort, Charlotte of Hesse, one cannot avoid recognising the descendant of William of Orange.

The daughter of the Landgraf of Hesse was the elector's cousin, and was already the mother of two children (Charles, who died in early youth, and the future Duchess of Orleans), when her strange lord became enamoured of a fair Swabian, Mdlle. de Degenfeld, whose father had first fought under the Austrian, and then under the Swedish flag. That this lady was charming and amiable to the highest degree does not form matter for a doubt, for she even gained the affection and respect of the very children and relatives of the princess whom she had (though perhaps not voluntarily) wronged. Charlotte of Hesse was a haughty dame, who was little inclined to hesitate at any means of avenging an affront; and upon one occasion, whilst her faithless spouse was conducting Mdlle. de Degenfeld from the dining-hall through one of the galleries of the castle of Heidelberg, the Electress drew forth a pistol and attempted to shoot her rival. Charles Louis himself was of an obstinate unbending character, and fond of

were cousins, by the Duchesse de Bouillon (Turenne's mother), who was a daughter of William of Orange.

exacting implicit obedience from all around him; and finding in his wife pretty nearly corresponding qualities, their wedded life soon became a succession of bitter quarrels and dissensions. For several years, and while yet no breath had tarnished her fair fame, Mdlle. de Degenfeld prayed her mistress vainly to allow her to retire from her highness's service—a constant refusal was the only answer; and it is affirmed by some historians, that the first notice taken of Louisa by the Elector, was occasioned by the fact of his entreating his harsh consort to "treat her lady of honour more like a Christian princess, if she would not let her go."

There exists a curious letter from Charlotte of Hesse to the emperor, applying to him for assistance, and (after her separation from her husband and his morganatic marriage with Louisa) recounting her injuries. She accuses Mdlle. de Degenfeld of having "stolen from out her drawer a ring given her by the Elector, in order to make him jealous of his lawful wife," but at the same time she admits having herself "caused the cases and trunks of the Degenfeld to be broken open," in order to secure the love-letters of Charles Louis. She complains that the Elector "promised to box her ears, and kept his promise;" (!) and likewise "had her watched

by forty soldiers of the Swiss Guard placed in her antechamber"! Lastly, she asserts that the Palatine has brought his "new wife" from Schwetzingen, where she had a separate court of her own, to the Castle of Heidelberg. The Electress declares that she had gone upon her knees to Charles Louis, who seemed to hesitate in his repudiation of her, when "die Degenfelderin" exclaimed, "Keep your word, my Lord Elector!" and the much-harassed prince walked away with a sigh. After this she confesses to having got hold of a pistol, and to having loaded it with the firm intention of "sending a bullet through the ill-conditioned heart of the peace-destroyer," which weapon was snatched from her by Count Hohenlohe, who discharged it out of a window.

Of this appeal the chief of the empire took no heed, and for many years the irate princess continued to inhabit a wing of the palace of Heidelberg, whilst her gentler and luckier successor ruled as sovereign over all the rest. In the end, however, Charlotte repaired to Cassel, the court of her brother, the Landgraf. Throughout all the different phases of this domestic drama, the Princess Elizabeth invariably took part with her sister-in-law against her brother, though without condemning Mademoiselle de Degenfeld, which, somehow or

other, no one ever dreamt of doing. Between Charlotte of Hesse and the Princess Palatine there could have been but small personal sympathy; for the former participated in none of her learned cousin's tastes, but Elizabeth's strict notions of duty revolted at her brother's proceedings, and made her throughout the stanch supporter of his wife. The electress is said to have been an Amazon, like her mother-in-law, the Queen of Bohemia; beautiful, but cold, masculine, and disdainful, and systematically repelling every approach towards tenderness on the part of her lord. Notwithstanding this, however, she certainly did leave no means untried for effecting a reconciliation with the elector, and this only failed from his determined resistance.

In 1658, Charles Louis, in spite of prayers, advice, entreaties, threats, caused his marriage with the Landgravine Louisa (to such a rank he raised her) to be solemnized at Heidelberg by a Lutheran clergyman; and shortly after this his sister, the Princess Elizabeth, ceased to form part of his family circle.

CHAPTER XX.

PALLIATION OF THE ELECTOR'S STINGINESS TOWARDS HIS FAMILY—SITUATION OF THE PALATINATE—DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE TO WHICH THE COUNTRY WAS REDUCED—CHARLES LOUIS'S WANT OF "GRACE"—QUARREL WITH PRINCE RUPERT—ELIZABETH'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE LATTER — IMPETUOSITY OF BOTH BROTHERS—THE INKSTAND — THE ELECTOR'S CARTEL TO TURENNE—HIS RESTORATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG — PRINCESS PALATINE'S POSITION AT HIS COURT—HER FAME AND INFLUENCE—HER LONELY SITUATION—MARRIAGE OF HER SISTER SOPHIA WITH THE DUKE OF HANOVER—ELIZABETH'S VISIT TO KROSSEN—THE PRINCESS MARIA ELEONORA—RETURN TO HEIDELBERG—FLIGHT OF THE ELECTRESS CHARLOTTE—NOMINATION OF ELIZABETH AS ABBESS-COADJUTRIX OF HERFORD—DEPARTURE FROM HEIDELBERG — SOJOURN AT CASSEL — THE LANDGRAVINE HEDWIGE SOPHIA — COURT OF CASSEL — ELIZABETH'S INFLUENCE—LANDGRAF CHARLES'S EDUCATION—ELIZABETH'S ENTHRONEMENT AS ABBESS OF HERFORD.

BEFORE taking leave of Charles Louis entirely, there is a point upon which it is impossible, in justice, not to touch: we allude to the niggardly way in which he doled out pecuniary assistance to his family, and for which history has held him up to shame. Our intention is not precisely to defend the Elector on this point, but

simply to remark, that whilst nothing *against* him has been left unsaid, that has not been sufficiently adduced which might militate *for* him. On the Elector's return to the Palatinate, his first and foremost preoccupation was the improvement of the condition in which he found his country. Devastation was everywhere, and the sufferings of this devoted land were far beyond even what has been generally supposed. "During the last years preceding the treaties of peace," writes M. de Geissel*, in his "Kaiserdom zu Speyer," "the miserable state of the Palatinate surpassed all belief. To the perpetual brutality and pillaging of the soldiers of the imperial army were added famine and disease. Agriculture was abandoned for want of working hands. Whole villages died off. Horses, asses, dogs, cats, and mice, were looked upon as the natural food of the population. Churchyards were narrowly watched, for every now and then corpses would disappear to still the calls of hunger! At Oberstein, a hamlet in the county of Falkenstein, a mother is affirmed to have cut up her own child, cooked, and eaten it! Tradition yet relates that often in the villages of

* An historian, too little known out of Germany, M. de Geissel, was Bishop of Speyer, and is Archbishop of Cologne. Some of the most curious historical treatises in the German language are the productions of his pen.

the Haardt Mountains troops of famished dogs might be seen hunting down troops of equally famished men. Did any of the latter drop from exhaustion, their fate was sure; and the hounds, after having torn them piecemeal, and devoured with enraged howlings their human meal, would fall to disputing their very bones."

When Charles Louis re-entered Heidelberg, in 1650, he found castle and town little more than a heap of ruins, and the whole of his inheritance plunged into what seemed almost hopeless desolation. Without meaning to excuse the Elector for his conduct to his family, we will merely say, that those who blame him the worst should, at the same time, remember one simple fact, namely, that in the short space of *nine* years the palatinate was restored to comparative prosperity; that its towns and villages were built up afresh, and its institutions of all kinds more flourishing than before,—thanks to Charles Louis *alone*, to his ceaseless activity, his untiring efforts, and his rigid application of every farthing he possessed to public purposes.*

* Even in the year 1661, eleven years after his return to his country (and when his mother had retired to England), the Elector wrote to the Queen of Bohemia, that "she might be certain he could lay no money aside out of his Palatinal revenues, but, on the contrary, was obliged to

We never attempted to present the Elector to our readers as an amiable character, and in our minds he forfeited every claim to sympathy by his cowardly adherence to the Parliament in England against the king, but we think he has perhaps been censured in certain individual circumstances beyond what he really deserved. Charles Louis, like his ancestor, James I, and like his daughter, Elizabeth Charlotte of Orleans, lacked grace; and whatsoever he did, appeared worse than if another had done it. His fiery brother, Rupert, whose defeats, though of a totally different kind, were in their way no less great, took such desparate umbrage at his brother's parsimoniousness, that he swore (and kept his word) never to set foot in the latter's dominions, or meet him again as a brother. By this headstrong determination of Rupert's, the direct continuation of the palatinal honours in the person of a son or grandson of Frederick V became impossible; for he refused, on the death of his brother's heir, to lend himself to any of the plans in contemplation for his own marriage and residence at Heidelberg.

Strange to say, in the beginning, Elizabeth does not seem to have made any greater allowances for her brother the Elector's position, than

spend on the Palatinate whatever came to him from any other quarter."

did the rest; and the letters she addressed to Rupert, comparing the open-handed generosity of her cousin Frederick William of Brandenburg with the stinginess of Charles Louis, helped no little to feed the indignation which Rupert allowed later to explode.*

The nine or ten years' residence of the Princess Palatine at the Elector's court of Heidelberg may, nevertheless, count among the more agreeable portions of her existence, in spite

* Different as were the two brothers in character, generally, impetuosity was almost as much an attribute of the wary Charles Louis as of the hot-headed Rupert. Without dwelling upon the notorious fact of the Prince Palatine having thrown an inkstand at the head of an ambassador upon the occasion of the election of the Emperor Leopold at Frankfort, his cartel to Turenne would be sufficient to show that spice of knight-errantry, which was a sort of family feature in the grandsons of William of Orange and Charlotte of Bourbon. In 1674, Charles Louis saw, from the walls of Freidrichsburg, two towns and twenty-five villages in flames, and he instantly wrote to the French Marshal to demand satisfaction for this "unchristian-like conduct." He ends his letter with these words: "Do not look upon my demand as an idle or romantic caprice. I wish to avenge my country, and as I cannot do this at the head of an army equal to yours, and that no way, save the one I point out, seems left to draw down punishment on your head, I choose what puts you within the reach of my own avenging arm. I fervently hope from this meeting, that the same land that was your father's and my uncle's place of refuge may witness in the same degree your remorse and chastisement in which it has witnessed your oppression and cruelty."

of certain small privations she underwent (and which, had Descartes still lived, he would have proved were evidently less felt by her than by another), and of the domestic troubles she was called upon to witness.

In the time-honoured, newly-restored, erudite Heidelberg, Elizabeth was received and regarded with admiring, wondering respect. Amongst the first objects of her brother's solicitude, had been the University, and his earliest care was to draw around him the most learned men whom he could induce to settle in the Palatinate. Blomius from Hamburg, Samuel Puffendorf, Freinsheim, whom we have seen at the court of Christine in Stockholm, and the orientalist Hottinger of Zurich, were soon all to be counted among the illustrious of the Heidelberg University, and among the habitual admirers and friends of the Princess Palatine. To her influence may be principally ascribed the establishment of the Cartesian doctrines at Heidelberg. To her fell the task of explaining, commenting on them,—revealing them in short, and making their beauties known in the more southern States of Germany, as she had already done during Descartes' lifetime in the north. The famous Joachim Jungius, the German rival of Descartes, whom Leibnitz has placed in many respects upon an equal level with the great

French reformer, was so pre-occupied with what Elizabeth said, did, and taught, that he constantly wrote to his friend Blomius to be minutely informed on the subject, and evinced the strongest desire to enter into a correspondence with the princess herself, which was soon arranged, and continued at long intervals, till the death of Jungius in 1657. Amongst other proofs of the high intellectual position occupied by Elizabeth in the university is the dedication to her by Hottinger of the fifth volume of his "Ecclesiastical History," in which dedication he compares her to the celebrated Olympia Fulvia Morata, who, in the preceding century, had been to Melancthon what the Princess Palatine was to Descartes; and who had even been admitted, in spite of her sex, to deliver lectures in the collegiate halls of Heidelberg. The date of this work is 5th of August, 1655.

Notwithstanding all these occupations, so congenial to her tastes, there came a moment when the poor Princess Palatine felt the want of family affections, and when her lonely situation at the Elector's court began to depress her and make her contemplate a change. Her sister-in-law, whose part she energetically took, was, as we have already said, no companion for her; and with the Landgravine Louisa, whom she did not blame, her principles forbade her

to establish any serious intimacy. Her sister Sophia, whose youthful intellect had gradually expanded in precisely the same direction as her own, was her one great solace and joy; but at the end of eight years, in 1658, she was suddenly deprived of this last consolation, by the marriage which made the youngest child of Elizabeth Stuart, Electress of Hanover, and mother of the future kings of England, who in virtue of her right ascended the British throne.* So little could it then be supposed that circumstances would call the Dukes of Hanover to reign over the three island kingdoms, that the Queen of Bohemia looked upon the marriage of the Princess Sophia as wholly unworthy of her, and severely blamed the Elector Charles Louis for having consented to it. But the Princess had already attained the age of twenty-eight, and there was no crowd of aspirants to her hand, so that the proposal of the Duke of Brunswick was with readiness accepted by Charles Louis for his portionless, however fascinating, sister.

It was at the close of this same year that the Queen of Bohemia was destined to be left to utter solitude by the departure of her daughter,

* When Sophia married Ernest Augustus, he was merely Duke of Brunswick. He became later Bishop of Osnaburg, Duke and Elector of Hanover.

Louise Hollandine, from the Hague. One of the very best informed of German historians, and one whom we have already often quoted, (Guhrauer) says, in speaking of the abbess of Maubuisson, "the Princess Palatine Elizabeth never, during her lifetime, kept up any sort of correspondence with her sister Louise, which is easily to be understood, both on account of her strong attachment to the Protestant religion, and of her strict morality."

Eighteen months after the marriage of Charles Louis with Mademoiselle de Degenfeld, in the year 1660, Elizabeth left the Palatinate, in order to pay a visit at the palace of Krossen, on the Oder, and to assist at the marriage of her cousin Elizabeth Charlotte, with Duke George of Briez. The mother of the Great Elector was dead, and the Princess Palatine's hostess this time was Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg, widow of Louis Philip, the younger brother of Frederick V. Without being perhaps in some respects as learned as her niece, Maria Eleonora was one of the remarkable women of her time, and one in whose society the Princess of Bohemia was likely to find no inconsiderable charm. Devoted to the doctrines of Calvin, the elder Princess Palatine was at the same time possessed by an ardent desire to investigate Scriptural truths in the original, and she applied herself to study He-

brew, under the direction of her chaplain, Johann van Dalen; and added to this, proposed to the famous Coccejus, then professor of theology in Leyden, to undertake the putting together of that well known Hebrew-German dictionary which, dedicated to the Princess Maria Eleonora, was in universal circulation through the whole of the eighteenth century. Through the correspondence of her aunt with Coccejus, Elizabeth made also an epistolary acquaintance with the theologian and philosopher of Leyden; and some years later, he dedicated to her his Translation of, and Commentaries on, the Song of Solomon.

After a sojourn of several months at Krossen, the Princess of Bohemia returned to Heidelberg, where she had scarcely arrived, than she received (in May, 1661) the news of her nomination as coadjutrix of the Princess Palatine Elizabeth Louisa, Abbess of Herford. This nomination, which she owed to the firm, untiring friendship of her cousin, the Great Elector, gave, at length, to the much-tried Princess of Bohemia, an earnest of peace and tranquillity for her later years. All her tribulations were, however, not yet past. Early in the year 1662, the Electress Charlotte of Hesse, perceiving the utter uselessness of all her efforts to dissolve her husband's union with Mademoiselle de

learning is concerned, without entering upon his superiority in what regards moral qualifications and character) for his extraordinary aptitude in everything concerning mathematical science, and here the assistance of Elizabeth in his education is manifest. The love and respect, too, which, throughout his life and reign, he evinced for learning and science, the institutions he founded for their furtherance, and which honour his country to this hour, have their source to the full as much in the lessons he received from the Princess of Bohemia as in those given him by his mother; and to the daughter of Frederick V, to the disciple of Descartes, Germany undoubtedly owes much of what constituted the noble fame of one of her best sovereigns.

On the 28th of March, 1667, a new species of activity, a new era of life opened for the Princess Palatine, and she had to assume new responsibilities, and to accustom herself to a totally new form of existence. At the date we have mentioned, Elizabeth Louisa, Abbess of Herford, departed from this world, and her coadjutrix, the Princess of Bohemia, succeeded to her honours and rank. This called her away from Cassel, where she had spent so many happy years, but with whose illustrious Landgravine she was, strange to say, destined later

to have so many differences upon religious subjects; and on the 30th of April, 1667, she was, with all due pomp and ceremony, enthroned Abbess of the Chapter and Convent of Herford.

CHAPTER XXI.

WHAT AN ABBESS WAS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—ELIZABETH'S POSITION—MISSTATEMENTS OF THE CARTESIANS—THE PRINCESS PALATINE'S SPIRITUAL TENDENCIES—THE "APOSTLES" OF THE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR—THEIR FEMALE SLAVES—JEAN LABADIE—HIS LIFE—EDUCATION BY THE JESUITS—CONDUCT IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE—ABJURATION AT MONTAUBAN—RESIDENCE AT ORANGE—ADAMITE INNOCENCE—MADEMOISELLE DE CALOUGET—LABADIE AT GENEVA—GOTTSCHALK AND ANNA SCHURMANN—THE LATTER'S MYSTICISM—LABADIE IN HOLLAND—MADEMOISELLE DE SCHURMANN'S IDOLATRY OF HIM—FURY OF THE PEOPLE OF AMSTERDAM AGAINST HIM—FIRST FOUNDATION OF THE "COMMUNITY"—LABADIE FORCED TO FLY FROM HOLLAND—ANNA SCHURMANN APPLIES TO THE ABBESS OF HERFORD—THE LATTER CONSENTS TO RECEIVE LABADIE AND HIS FOLLOWERS—THE PRINCESS PALATINE'S LETTER TO HER COUSIN, THE GREAT ELECTOR—FREDERICK WILLIAM'S TOLERANCE—COMMENCEMENT OF TROUBLES AND DISCUSSIONS FOR THE PRINCESS PALATINE.

It was no unenviable position—even in the seventeenth century, and after the Reformation had shorn of half their splendour the dignitaries of the Church—it was still no unenviable position to be head and Superior of such an Abbey and Chapter as those of Herford. After

many bickerings and quarrels, and even open-handed struggles with the Imperial authority, the town of Herford, like some others far more important, was, by the Westphalian Treaties, deprived of its independence, and rendered incorporate with the State of Brandenburg. The Chapter, however, at the same time, remained unmediatized, and its Reichsunmittelbarkeit* was guaranteed to the Abbey of Herford, as third of the four female ecclesiastical principalities recognized by the treaties of peace.† The Elector of Brandenburg exercised a sort of protectorate over the Chapter; but until the commencement of the eighteenth century, they never attempted to touch its independence; and upon this point her cousin, Frederick William, gave the Princess Palatine, in 1669, a formal declaration. To the Diets of the Empire the Abbess of Herford sent her delegate; and in all legal acts and documents her title was that of "Princess and Prelatess (Prälatin) of the Holy Roman Empire." By this title, also, she was enthroned in the cathedral church, in presence of all her Court and her vassals, of the Branden-

* Literally, *im*mediate, and *not me*diate, connection with the Empire.

† The other three were, Quedlinburg, Gernrode, and Gandersheim.

burg Councillors of State and Magistrates, of the Clergy of Herford, and of its City dignitaries, and by this title the Emperor recognized her.

It has been the constant aim of the Cartesians to establish the lasting and unshaken attachment of the Princess of Bohemia to the doctrines of the illustrious philosopher whose pupil and friend she was, and to maintain the existence of this inflexible faith at the expense even of all religious conviction: an incorrect statement, and an endeavour of which one scarcely understands the intent, seeing that, to be an admirer and hanger-on of Descartes, it was by no means necessary to be a sceptic in Christianity; for that, on the contrary, the most rigid Jansenists in France had adopted him for their own without diminishing one iota of their pious practices. Baillet, as chief and leader of those who wrote both on Descartes and the Princess Elizabeth, and after him, Thomas, does not scruple to represent the Abbess of Herford as little better than a free thinker, and her Abbey and Chapter as a sort of philosophical and literary academy, where people of every creed, and those of no creed at all, were welcomed, so that they were but distinguished in some way intellectually.

Now, either Baillet and his followers knew nothing of what passed at Herford, or they

wilfully mis-stated; for the facts were notoriously contrary to their assertions. At the period when the Princess Palatine acceded to the dignity of Abbess of Herford, she had arrived at the middle of life, and, as in all really superior natures—superior as much by the heart as the understanding—her tendencies, aspirations, hopes, lay beyond this world. Hers was an affectionate and much-tried, but a deeply serious character, serious, at times, almost to sadness. Science had pretty well afforded to her intelligence all the comfort and support whereof it was capable, and the satisfaction of being appreciated by those competent to judge, and revered for her vast acquirements (a sentiment quite distinct from vanity), had been awarded her to its utmost extent. With Elizabeth, however, it was as with all elevated minds: the more she mastered, the less she felt she knew, and the stronger the light thrown around her by science, the more it served to show the wretched exiguity of the spot illuminated, and the infinite depths of the Impenetrable beyond. She sickened at the miserable emptiness of all earthly knowledge, gathering therefrom but one truth: that she knew nothing. Then came the longing, the thirst, the imperious demand for spiritual consolation which, in almost every human creature

thus requiring it, leads inevitably, in one shape or other, to mysticism. And so it was with the Princess Palatine. A stanch Protestant, as we have seen, all along repudiating, more and more, all outward forms and ceremonies, and aspiring, daily and hourly, to a more direct and intimate communion with the Divine Being, she fell into the one supreme error with which, from the beginning, they of the Reformed creed are wont to reproach Catholics —into the blind idolàtry of an individual, in whom her own private judgment sufficed to make her see an apostle, and became wholly subservient to the absolute dominion of an impostor.

In no part of modern history are so many of these messengers from Heaven to be found wandering about as in the seventeenth century, after the end of the Thirty Years' War; and everywhere they are to be traced by the vast number of female fanatics who spring up in their train. Man's longing for command may be strong, but it is nothing compared to the thirst of woman for submission, and never yet have one of these self-constituted "masters" started up, that they have not seen their path choked up by a crouching multitude of women imploring slavery. Nor are these the least worthy or the least intelligent of their sex, but, on the contrary, they are

merely those least satisfied with what earth has to give, speculators in Divine truths, who, after having rebelled against what they termed an "impious thrall," would accept any amount of humiliation to ensure their chances of eternity.

The "apostle" who put the yoke upon the Princess Palatine was a man who was much and variously talked of towards the last half of the seventeenth century; whose enemies were uncompromising, whose partizans violent, but who in the end fell under what might pretty well be called universal condemnation and contempt—Jean Labadie.

Born in 1610 at Bourg in Guienne, Labadie was brought up at the Jesuits' College of Bordeaux. His father was a respectable gentleman, who by Henri Quatre had been appointed governor of his native town. The Jesuits, with that intuitively sharp insight into character which not even their worst enemies refuse them, probably discovered early their pupil's propensities for self-indulgence, for they forced him to an ascetic life, and made every effort to lead him gradually on to mysticism. This does not seem to have succeeded, for when about twenty years of age, the first work Labadie published—"Sur la Grace et Vocation efficace"—(the subject which so long and bitterly divided the church and clergy of France), he put forth most incontesti-

bly Jansenist doctrines. Nine years later, (1639) he applied for, and obtained, a permission to withdraw from the order of St. Ignatius. He then, for some time, devoted himself principally to preaching, and with considerable success, for no one denied his talents or his rare eloquence. The Bishop of Amiens gave him a canonicate and a curacy, and the famous Abbé de St. Cyran, liberated from prison at Richelieu's death, invited him to come to Paris. What might have happened to Labadie had St. Cyran lived, it would be difficult to say, but he died a few months after their meeting in Paris (October, 1643), and the inherent love of Labadie for power and independence began now to lead him into those enterprizes which ended in his successive expulsion from his various places of refuge. His first attempt was in Amiens itself, where he collected around him a small knot of men and women, over whom he ruled and to whom he preached doctrines so little belonging to any church at all, that he soon found himself obliged to vacate the town and province. Thence he fled to the south of France; and here, for the same reason, was driven from one place to another, added to which, strange reports now followed him everywhere of infamous attacks upon female honour, and stories became authenticated which caused good Christians to shut their doors upon the

celebrated preacher. Labadie felt the time was come to take a decided step, and to give himself the ostensible support of a party, and in the year 1650 he declared for the Reformed Church, and professed himself converted to its doctrines at Montauban. Here he resided seven years, keeping the town in a ferment, blinding his adherents by a show of more than monastic ascetism, and so absolutely governing them that they rejected every proof adduced by his adversaries of the "Apostle's" anything but self-denying life. From Montauban he repaired to Orange, whence he was forced to retreat for having forbidden the congregation to rise at the entrance of the Governor, Count Dhoua, and from Orange he betook himself to Geneva, where he laid down such rules for morality and conduct as made the astounded Genevese look back to the times of Calvin as to an era of positive self-indulgence. To all the accusations of licentiousness—whenever they were brought home to him — Labadie always replied that people judged from false appearances, and could not in their corruption understand that he wanted to restore all social intercourse to the primitive innocence of Adam and Eve! This was pretty much what he replied to Mademoiselle de Calouges when she repelled his attempts to seduce her. With the most imperturbable

assurance he reproached her with her want of purity and fervour, saying that, had she been sufficiently wrapt in devotional thoughts and aspirations, she would not have perceived what concerned only the grosser and more earthly portion of her!

In the year 1661, Gottschalk Schürmann, brother of the erudite lady whom we have learned to know as the early friend of the Princess Palatine, took a journey to Switzerland in order to judge of the real state of religion there. A few months passed over, and Schürmann was one of Labadie's most ardent disciples. Not only he wrote to his sister Anna upon this subject, but, on his return to Utrecht, he so fired her imagination with regard to the preacher of Geneva, that from that time Labadie had no firmer adherents than the brother and sister Schürmann. This feeling was still more heightened in the latter by the death of her brother, whom she dearly loved, and which left her alone in the world. Little by little the desire to break with all things terrestrial had been growing upon Mademoiselle Schürmann, and she now looked upon even learning as profane. Some years previously she also had, in Cologne, whither family affairs had called her, established a small church of her own, which caused her to be looked upon with almost equal

suspicion by Catholics and Protestants. Her former friends fell off from her, and those only whom she retained were Voetius and two or three scholastic theologians. With these she corresponded constantly, and to them she communicated the longing inspired her by her brother, to make acquaintance with Labadie. In 1666 the pastor of the Walloon Church in Middleburg, John le Long, died, and the Town Council was prevailed upon to offer his place to Labadie. Mademoiselle Schürmann wrote to entreat his acceptance of it, and without hesitation he as quickly as might be went to Utrecht, where he was rapturously received by his already determined disciples, Voetius and the scholastics at their head.

After a few sermons delivered at Amsterdam with very doubtful success (the genuine Reformers being considerably shocked by the preacher's extraordinary doctrines), Labadie repaired to Middleburg, taking with him Anna Schürmann and several other persons who devoted themselves to his fortunes and his will. His object was, he professed, "to make war upon the world;" but his zeal soon led him to make war upon a single individual, which is a far less safe undertaking. He fell into a controversy with M. de Wollezogen touching a work of Spinoza ("Philosophia Scripturæ Interpres"), and, as was

inevitable with such a character as his, went unwarrantably far, and was somewhat roughly brought to book. The affair was submitted to the Synod of Naarden, who condemned Labadie; the latter rebelled at the sentence, and was immediately dismissed his post at Middleburg.

The Synod of Dordrecht confirmed this sentence *in extenso*, and Labadie now looked upon himself as a martyr, and felt more and more fired to conflict with "the world." During the year 1669 the "Apostle" wandered from town to town in Holland, here protected, there expelled, until he resolved to try once more his luck in Amsterdam, whither Mademoiselle de Schürmann followed him, declaring now that she would separate from him no more, but cling to him still, should he meditate a flight to the Indian coast! Vainly did her former friends, Voetius and others, represent to her the impropriety of her conduct, the ridicule and blame she was drawing upon herself—the fever was at its height, and the hour had come which in these cases never fails, when everything of whatsoever nature was to be sacrificed to the idol, and, accordingly, Anna Schürmann and a little knot of "Sisters" betook themselves to Amsterdam, and must needs go lodge in the "Master's" own house. Here was the first commencement of what afterwards grew into a regular commu-

nity, and sufficiently it startled the worthy burghers of Amsterdam; but Labadie, who was pretty well provided with worldly prudence, had one argument which for a time stood him in good stead—liberty of conscience. The people of Amsterdam were particularly tenacious on this point, and under this pretext were induced to tolerate the sectarian-errant much longer than they would otherwise have done. The Labadists were soon so much talked of that Penn's precursors, Barclay and Keith, went to Amsterdam for the purpose of seeing whether a union was possible with their own sect; they had not, however, long observed the French "Reformer" before they decided to have nothing to do with him, and quietly returned whence they came.

Labadie seems to have been ready enough to join sects with anybody, for about this time he made overtures to Antoinette Bourignon to establish a community together somewhere in the Duchy of Schleswig. Antoinette, however, refused rather disdainfully; and certain, apparently, of some direct road to Heaven, chose to set up preaching on her own account, and not divide her chance with any one.

About this time, however, Labadie's doctrines grew to be so very strange and so utterly at variance with those of the Reformation, that the authorities began to bestir themselves, and it

was seriously considered whether the Labadists ought not to be shut out from the benefits of liberty of conscience as propagators of pernicious maxims* both morally and religiously. At the same time a popular cry arose (like all popular cries calumnious and absurd, and in that very proportion potent), that Labadie was an agent of the Jesuits! and had been set on by them to undermine the Reformed Church!! This roused the lower classes, and the French preacher's house was no longer safe for him to inhabit. But where to go? there was now the difficulty; in this dilemma Anna Schürmann bethought her of the friend of her youth, of the Princess Palatine Elizabeth, now Abbess of Herford. To her she accordingly wrote, and from her received a most favourable answer to her request.

In the passage whereby Mademoiselle de Schürmann herself commemorates this event, she does not scruple to denominate the sect of the Labadists "the small Church of Christ," and of course showers praises upon the Princess who, "against the advice of many," resolved so magnanimously to give a home to the wandering saint. She recalls her forty years' friendship with Elizabeth, and seems to have quite forgot-

* Vide Guhrauer.

ten the wide difference of opinion which existed between them, when the Princess of Bohemia was the first disciple of Descartes, and first promulgator of his system.

Why the Abbess of Hereford suddenly and on the earliest demand of a person whose opinions she had not hitherto shared, however she might admire her acquirements—why she at once decided to offer a home to Labadie and his followers against the advice of her best counsellors,—is, and will probably remain, a mystery. Perhaps the only solution is to be found in that recognition we have already pointed out of the utter vanity of human lore, and in that longing for what lies beyond man's mortal ken, that in one shape or other, at some one period of his life, is sure to preoccupy if not torment him.

"Putting aside all intermediaries," says Mademoiselle de Schürmann, at the close of her narrative, "and firm in her resolve, the princess wrote to me direct, informing me that she was well acquainted with my intention of emancipating myself from the trammels of the world, in order to consecrate my time entirely to the practices of the true Christian religion, and end my days calmly and happily in communion with pious spirits. She was pleased to say she recalled our former friendship, and, therefore, offered to me and our whole community the free

and public exercise of our religion throughout the whole of her little State of Herford. . . . . When I communicated her letter to our pastors it was evident to us all that this was a special manifestation of Providence in our favour, and we immediately set about profiting by it."

The pious enthusiast, in describing the journey of the Labadists from Holland to Germany, omits to record that, scarcely had the little troop landed in Bremen than they were requested to vacate the town, and accordingly their cordial reception by the Princess Palatine was only the more appreciated, and the more obstinately continued to be regarded as a marked favour of Providence.

Spontaneously as she may appear to have acted in the affair of the Labadists, the Princess Elizabeth had, nevertheless, taken care beforehand to ensure the countenance of her cousin, the Great Elector; and we have the following letter, in her own hand, upon the subject. It is dated August 21, 1670,* and runs thus :—

"Most Gracious Elector,
and Highest Honoured Cousin,

"I feel I am bound to apprize your Grace, as mine and my Chapter's Protector, of an oppor-

* Private State Archives in Berlin.

tunity which occurs, without injury to any one, of benefiting much this Abbey and your Grace's State. Your Grace will have surely heard how the learned Anna Schürmann, with certain Dutch and Zealand ladies, commenced the foundation of a convent at Amsterdam. Two preachers, however,* are with them, whom the people of Holland hate, and pursue with calumnies, although they have submitted to the Council of Dordrecht, and stand by the reformed tenets; for this reason, they strongly wish to join themselves to me here, to depend upon me as their superior, to transport hither their worldly goods; and they think, as do I, that such foundations being by no means uncommon, no one can be surprised, or take exception, at the proposition. All they require is the assurance that they and the above-mentioned clergymen may enjoy the same freedom for the exercise of their religion that is enjoyed by the rest of my dependents. I can better promise them this if I am assured by your Grace that you will protect them like the rest of my clergy, and that their worship and other immunities shall be guaranteed to them; but I must entreat of you to communicate on this point with no one but only M. de Schwerin, failing which secrecy there

* Labadie and his friend Du Lignon.

might be much difficulty made between the two countries, between Holland and Zealand, where they would sell their possessions, and this place where they seek to buy ; the whole affair might be entrammelled. As I doubt not M. de Schwerin will fully inform you (as I have informed him) of all the arguments in favour of what I request, I will no longer importune your Grace, but merely recommend to your lasting kindness her who has already felt so many marked effects of it that she were unworthy to live could she be one instant without dwelling on the gratitude she owes.

"Your Grace's most obedient, most humble, most deeply obliged servant,

"ELIZABETH."

Frederick William, with the excessive tolerance which characterized his reign, gave, through Count Schwerin, a favourable answer to the Princess (6th September), although, before the receipt of her letter, on the 18th of the preceding month, the States of Cleves had entered a sort of protest against Labadie's immigration to Herford.

Here was now the opening of a period in the Princess Palatine's history which was to end in discord and strife, almost as little creditable to the Abbess of Herford herself as to the un-

worthy objects of her misplaced admiration; quarrels with her subjects, disputes with the authority of the Empire, estrangement from some of the nearest and dearest members of her own family, ridicule from all, even from those who did not care to condemn—these were the fruits of Elizabeth's renewed friendship with Anna Schürmann, and her mystic adoration of the Apostle Labadie. How different these from the scenes of her youth, when surrounded by all that was wisest, noblest, in her uncle's court at the Hague, she was effectually (and without even guessing it) preserved from the slightest exaggeration or exaltation—so natural both to her sex—by the ceaseless solicitude of her incomparable master and friend, Descartes!

CHAPTER XXII.

DISPUTES BETWEEN THE ABBESS AND HER SUBJECTS—HER HAUGHTY ANSWERS TO THE TOWN COUNCIL—THE "THOUSAND DRAGOONS" THE ABBESS'S LETTER TO THE GREAT ELECTOR—HIS ANSWER—OBJECTIONS TO THE LABADISTS—A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY NAMED—AIR AND WATER FORBIDDEN TO THE SECTARIANS BY THE BURGHERS—ANOTHER APPLICATION TO FREDERICK WILLIAM BY ELIZABETH — LABADIE'S TENETS — HIS FOLLOWERS — THE "LIGHT" THAT BROKE IN ON THE PRINCESS PALATINE—THE "ONLY TRUE CHURCH OF CHRIST"—COMMUNITY OF GOODS—THE STORY OF ANNA BIANDA—THE DILATORINESS OF THE BERLIN COMMISSION—INTERFERENCE OF THE LANDGRAVINE HEDWIGE SOPHIA OF HESSE—APPLICATION OF THE HERFORD BURGHERS TO THE IMPERIAL TRIBUNAL—CONDEMNATION OF THE ABBESS—HER INDIGNATION—ANGER OF THE GREAT ELECTOR—ELIZABETH IN BERLIN—DEPARTURE OF LABADIE AND HIS SISTERHOOD—ATTITUDE OF THE ABBESS IN REGARD TO HER SUBJECTS.

THE dispute between Elizabeth and her townspeople concerning Labadie began early, for they did not wait for the arrival of the new community to abuse its members to the Abbess. Private letters from Amsterdam, and public report, had brought so much scandal to the ears

of the Herford burghers that it was feared lest the reception of the Labadists might be a stormy one, and the day after their arrival a formal deputation was dispatched to the Abbess to protest against the establishment of the "Hollanders." Elizabeth, it seems, would not even give audience to these murmurers, and contented herself with sending them word "they might make themselves easy concerning the strangers, for whom she was ready to answer." One false step led to another, one misunderstanding followed on another's heels, and ere a week was scarcely over, the feud had sprung up between the Princess Palatine and her subjects, which was scarcely to cease until her death. Naturally there was exaggeration on both sides, and thus Elizabeth's cold, and somewhat haughty answers to the Town Council were construed by the latter into the threat "that, Princess of the Empire, and responsible only to the Emperor, she would, if the burghers opposed her, call in a body of a thousand dragoons, and teach her rebellious subjects to behave themselves!"

This was one of the chief complaints of the Town Council against the Abbess, and this also figured in the *factum* addressed by its members to the Great Elector, on the 6th November, wherein every right and principle of the West-

phalian peace was declared to be injured if the Labadists were tolerated in Herford.

At the same time, however, Elizabeth applied too to her cousin of Brandenburg, and the following is her letter in full; curious especially from the care she takes (whether wilfully or ignorantly) to impress upon Frederick William's mind that Labadie does adhere to the doctrines of the Reformation, and has submitted (which was inexact) to the decrees of the Synod of Dordrecht:—

"I would fain recall to your Grace's remembrance," writes she, "the letter I addressed to you some few months back, containing the details of Mddle. de Schürmann's renouncement of the world, and her desire to found (with the help of many other persons equally so disposed) a convent which would depend upon my chapter, and I would also recall your Grace's answer of the 6th September, and the communication made through Count Schwerin, whereby you signified your consent to the scheme, provided only the persons in question conformed in their worship to the rites of the Reformed religion, and gave no public occasion for offence. Thereupon they came hither. Although much has been spread against them by their enemies, yet have many persons (some of your Grace's ministers even, and several Protestant divines)

at our desire, conversed lengthily with these people, and all admit that their creed and doctrines are those of the Reformation, as also their own clergymen openly profess that they adhere to the Reformed Church only, and teach only what is prescribed by the Synod of Dordrecht, the "Institutions" of Calvin, and the Catechism of Heidelberg. Neither can any one with truth affirm that they have given cause for offence since their arrival here ;* on the contrary, they give the example of the most retiring, righteous, exemplary conduct, so much so that every impartial individual must recognize in them the reverse of what their enemies have described. In all this, we can desire only to work for the glory of God, and strengthen good Christians in pious resolves, besides increasing the number of our Calvinist subjects, of whom we have too few ;† besides this, it is likewise much to be wished that so many waste lands in our dominions should have the advantage of being built upon, and that by the establishment of small colonies in these various spots trade may be activated, and all classes—burghers, tradespeople, workmen, labourers—im-

* They had not been quite a week at Herford when the abbess wrote this letter!

† The principal part of the population of Herford was strictly Lutheran.

prove their resources through these settlers, without having anything to complain of on their parts."

However adroitly the Princess contrives to state her case to the Elector, and however she shows him the pretended profit her Chapter is to reap from the presence of the Labadists, Frederick William seems to have been already on his guard, and his reply, a few days later, discloses at once the grounds on which the expulsion of the community was so pertinaciously desired.

"We cannot disguise from your Grace," he writes, after some preliminary compliments upon Elizabeth's zeal in the cause of religion, "that most foul reports have come to us from many different sides, touching the life and conduct of the people in question. All concur in representing the Labadists as merely outward adherents to the Reformed religion, in order to obtain protection from those States which really profess it; and all affirm that, in reality, and under most sanctimonious appearances, they hold wondrous strange opinions, somewhat akin to those of the Quakers, and forming a sect utterly distinct. They practise amongst themselves the communion of property, and decidedly advocate the communion of women also; and here, even, I do not touch on all the reproaches brought against these persons; there are many

more, several whereof have appeared uncontradicted in print. Now, although in the commencement, we chose rather to attend to your Grace's strong recommendation of these people than to all that was alleged against them, still, public opinion is too unanimous and too vehement in this case for us not to lend it an ear, and accordingly we have decided to depute some of our councillors to examine into the matter on the spot; they will take every information necessary, enter narrowly into all the details, and send their report to me; and nothing, I assure you, will please me better than if we discover that these persons have been unjustly accused."

The letter concludes with strong recommendations to the abbess to watch the conduct of her visitors, and take care that they give no cause for evil reports, nor hold any secret meetings for the purposes of worship, but in all ways conform to the usages of the Reformed Church.

At the same time the Elector warned the commissioners, whom he sent to examine the matter, to proceed with the greatest possible care and impartiality, and on no account to allow any unmerited hardships to be suffered by the Labadists.

The recommendation does not seem to have

been superfluous, for things had gone so far that the municipality of Herford had forbidden any more "Hollanders" from entering the town gates (Labadie was expecting a small detachment of female disciples, most of them belonging to noble families in Amsterdam); they had enjoined on the butchers, bakers, and brewers, &c., to carry on no trade with the would-be settlers, and had decreed that the latter should be prevented even from drawing water at the public wells! The abbess, upon this, besought the military commandant of the nearest garrison (Sparenberg) to lend her the aid and support of arms against her townspeople, and the Great Elector authorised General Count Ellern to announce to the Town Council that, until the Berlin Commissioners had pronounced, the guests of the abbess, as the abbess herself, were under the protection of her Suzerain, and that any overt act of rebellion would be answered by the immediate lodgment of a body of troops in the town, to be maintained at the town's own and sole cost and expense. For the third time, then, did Elizabeth write to her cousin, under date of the 20th November:—

"I hear," she commences, "that all manner of things have been reported to your Grace touching my "Hollanders," and to me so much

has been written on the subject, that, had I them not under my own eyes, did I not daily see the proofs of their exemplary conduct,* I should myself be the first to drive them from my dominions. However, I must entreat of your Grace not to condemn us† unheard, but to suspend your judgment till General Ellern, at least, returns to you; if he do not prove to you clearly, not only that our religion, but that yours and my country are benefited by their stay, and that your Grace's revenues must gain thereby, why, then withdraw from them your protection."

The princess goes on to ask for a garrison, necessary now, as she asserts, for her safety. "The town magistrate," she argues, "knowing now that these persons are not Quakers, but genuine Calvinists, and seeing the failure of his attempt to reduce them by famine—(as Claus Narne, who sat under the bridge at Dresden, and swore he would starve out the town by his will alone); for I can find means of feeding them without any help from the

* Let it be still remembered, that the residence of the Labadists was barely a fortnight old.

† Already Elizabeth associates herself and makes common cause with her guests. That strange idolatry is beginning to show itself, which will later detach her from all save its object only.

townspeople. The magistrate, I repeat, discovering this, will think of some other aggression, when General Ellern shall leave; and then, the common people, over whom the General's influence is less than that of the Burgomeister and his councillors, of whose insolence I complained,—the common people will be let loose, and we are helpless. Already, when any of the "Hollanders" walk in the streets, they are shouted at by the populace, and mud and dirt are flung at them. Therefore do I hope your Grace will not leave me in this danger, as I did nothing without your Grace's will and consent"—here the Princess Palatine exhibits such lawyer-like skill, that one cannot avoid thinking a suggestion, if no more, of Labadie's must be at the root of it—"and had the one only object at heart of working for the glory of God and for the interests of your Grace. Also, I doubt not, but all will go well, if your Grace is only pleased to support and stand by me."

It is neither within the limits, nor would it be in the spirit of this work, which is purely historical, to enter into any theological discussion upon Labadie's real or professed doctrines. A very few words will give a general idea of the points on which he separated himself from all Christian creeds. To what was written, as proof

of historical, traditional, or revealed truth, he attached little or no importance, saying that, in the first place, the Bible was comparatively useless, since God and religion existed long before it was thought of, and that, as to the New Testament, Our Saviour still spoke every day to his followers as clearly as he ever did in his Gospel. The "inward voice,"—that, according to Labadie, was the "proof of God,"—and that, and nothing else, the foundation of faith. To all this in principle, Labadie in practice added much that had struck him during his short stay among the Jansenists of Port Royal. But what with them resulted from a strong and genuine zeal for religion, with their imitator seemed to spring from very different motives. Instead of the learned ascetics, who so largely contributed to the serious literature of their age, Labadie's followers consisted chiefly of females; and whilst these were of the higher ranks of society, the men who were attached to him were almost entirely members of the lower classes, smiths, tailors, shoemakers, &c., humble and ignorant people, who looked up with admiring stolid awe to the "Master," whom they secretly feared without ever seeking to comprehend.

We have the record in all its details in the hand of the learned Schürmann herself, of the first moment in which "the light broke in"

upon the Princess Palatine. She had an illness, during which Labadie offered her spiritual consolation, wondrously as it appears, to her taste. She was already in what her guests termed the "right road;" she had already begun to distinguish "true Christianism from its false semblance" (the approved phrase of all sectarians), and expressed her delight at being able to offer a refuge to the "small number of Christ's followers who alone formed his true Church," when the malady we have alluded to brought her to the full and proper point of illuminism. "She now avowed to me," relates Anna Schürmann, "that she no longer believed from what I or others told her, but because she had herself heard, and henceforward knew, that the Labadists were the real, true servants of Christ, inspired directly by the Almighty!"

The two foremost complaints against these members of "the only true Church" were, that they practised community of goods and community of women. The latter part of the charge was principally based (inasmuch as regarded their stay at Herford) upon the obstinate manner in which they refused to alter their mode of living, namely, all together, and without distinction of sex. We say, "in as far as Herford was concerned," because in some of their former places of refuge, the accusation was based on

much stronger evidence. The other charge was, however, undeniable; for on the entrance of a member into the association, he was held to give up everything he possessed into Labadie's hands, to sign a renunciation of it for ever, and afterwards to gain his daily bread by work. In the "Acta," concerning Labadie's life and doctrines, which are preserved in the State Archives in Berlin, there is a well-authenticated, duly-witnessed complaint brought against him by a widow who had followed him from Middelburg. The complaint is addressed to the abbess and to General Ellern, and the substance of it is as follows:—Anna Bianda, with two sons and a daughter, had gone over to Labadie in Amsterdam, in 1670, having sold everything she had, and from that sale realized 782 florins, which were given into the "Master's" hands under the express condition that the widow "was all her life to be provided for by the community." Notwithstanding this, her sons had been forced to work every day for their food, Labadie observing to them that "rich and poor were equal, and that no difference existed between them."

One of these sons soon formed an attachment to a young girl named Sarah Pollen, and requested the consent of the head of the community to his marriage. Labadie refused, angrily saying,

that "God had not yet revealed to him any such necessity," and he excluded the would-be bridegroom from any participation in the daily instructions and worship. Nor was this all. One unlucky day, the young journeyman, it appears, was led into the abominable sin of actually giving his sweetheart a kiss! For this crime, he was thrown into prison, bound hand and foot with chains, and so grievously ill-treated, that he was incapacitated for work. Upon the remonstrances made by the mother, she and her sons were expelled the community and town, but arrested some hours later on the road, brought forcibly back to Herford, and made to sign a paper, whereby they declared that they had nothing to reclaim from the community. The demand addressed to the abbess was for restitution of the sums given to Labadie, on conditions he had not fulfilled, and also for a decree of punishment to be inflicted on Labadie and his acolyte, Yvon. As this incident occurred immediately before the expulsion of the Labadists from Herford, both the abbess and the electoral authorities seem to have thought it best not to provoke further scandal by following it up; and whilst the "Acta" perfectly substantiate the offence, they afford no trace whatever of the redress.

When, in the first instance, the Great Elector

announced to the Princess Palatine his intention of appointing a commission to examine into the affairs of the Labadists, she, trusting (as well she might) to her cousin's mildness and impartiality, and confident in Labadie's immaculate purity, accepted the proposal without an objection; but when, a month later, the commission was named, and the abbess was required to afford its different members aid and assistance in the work they had undertaken, she either really saw or affected to see in the whole proceeding something highly derogatory to her position and authority. "Your Grace," writes she, to the Elector (8 January, 1671), "is a greatand magnanimous prince. You cannot wish to enrich yourself out of my indigence, and you would be the first to blame me did I tamely allow the little authority my predecessors have transmitted to me to be still more encroached upon. I am sure you will not, therefore, take it amiss that I appeal to you in my need, and importune your Grace with my affairs. It belongs to the powerful to hear the prayers of the weak, and it will not be the first time you have done so."

This was adroit enough, and after some hesitation and negotiation Frederick William gave up the plan of an oral inquiry on the spot, and instituted, therefore, a written one, which gave considerable advantage to Labadie (inasmuch

as it rendered confusion easier), and served to lengthen the matter indefinitely.

It would take volumes to enter into the details of the inquiry, the reports and counter-reports, the accusations and defences, the discussions upon theological points, sharp and imperceptible as that of a needle, and the contradictory opinions of the examiners; suffice it to say, that in the middle of June, 1671, no decision was yet taken, and it was a matter of doubt whether the Labadists were to be branded with shame, and expelled the entire Electoral territory, or whether, on their binding themselves to abandon certain doctrines and certain scandalous appearances, they were to be tolerated still.

But if the great Elector and his Commissioners were slow in their deliberations, the Town Council of Herford had not lain idle all this while, and effort after effort was attempted by this indefatigable body to rid itself of the Labadists. First an application was made to the Stadtholder of Cleves, Prince Maurice of Nassau, who, expressing the utmost disgust at the scandalous sect the applicants wished to shake off, still opined that, as the Elector had already taken the matter in hand, it had best be left for his decision in the end. Next, in the month of April, 1671, the burghers and their magistrates

turned towards the Landgravine of Hesse, Hedwige Sophia, the great Elector's sister, and sometime bosom friend of the Princess Palatine. They laid before her eyes the sentence passed against Labadie by the States of Zealand, the approbation given thereto by the municipalities of Bremen, Wesel, and Amsterdam, and also by the theologians of the University of Duisberg.

Spite of her former attachment to Elizabeth, the Landgravine took up warmly the cause of the Herford Burghers, and wrote immediately to her brother in very strong terms upon the subject, recalling him with no great address to his position as chief protector of the Reformed religion in the north of Germany. Frederick William's answers sufficiently shows that any interference, even from those he loved best, was not likely to succeed with him or bring matters sooner to a close. "With all possible respect and admiration for your Grace's religious zeal," writes he to his sister, at the end of May, 1671, "we must observe that we are ourselves, by the help, too, of our pastors, engaged at this moment in inquiring into the case in question, and specially pre-occupied by the desire, on the one hand, to combat error and prevent the propagation of heretical doctrines and sects; but, on the

other, to avoid all such extreme harshness as would only throw oil upon fire and double the already existing evil."

How the whole business might have ended had the Herford burghers pursued another line of conduct it is difficult to say, but their behaviour very nearly turned the scales in the abbess's favour, for they, and not she, became the outstanders against the Elector's authority. In the month of July, 1671, they applied, neither more nor less than to the Imperial Tribunal of Spires, giving as a motive for this proceeding, to the Elector, that, as the abbess had sought a pretext for immunity in her position as a Princess of the Empire, it was but right that she should be judged by the authority she appeared alone to recognize. Nothing could have been more impolitic, for nothing could have been better calculated to incense Frederick William.

As to Elizabeth, naturally enough the Imperial Tribunal was too supremely glad to have in its grasp a daughter of Frederick V not to set speedily to work, and, accordingly, at the end of October, 1671, she was condemned to expel instantly from her territory Labadie, together with his disciples, companions, and whosoever consorted with him.

The end of the sentence runs thus:—"The abbess will, therefore, on receipt of this decree,

immediately banish the sectarians, Quakers, Anabaptists, or whatever they may be, and deny to them all further protection. Also, not only Labadie, Yvon de Lignon, and Henry and Peter Schlulei, but she herself, are held on the sixtieth day after receipt of this advice to have themselves represented by their counsel before the Imperial Council, and to answer for their obedience; whilst in case of non-submission to this sentence, a fine of thirty marks of gold will be exacted from the abbess, and she will suffer deposition from all her rights and privileges, and together with the above mentioned Quakers, Anabaptists, &c., expose herself to be put under the ban of the Empire."*

If the imperial authorities were delighted to have within their clutch a daughter of the unfortunate King of Bohemia, she was, perhaps, no less rejoiced at being able to defy as she did the eternal enemies of her house. All the valour of Frederick, all the pride of his Stuart-Queen, all the inflexible resolve of her grandsire of Orange, all the chivalrous spirit of her Bourbon ancestors, each drop of blood in the veins of the Princess Palatine revolted at the indignity that was offered to her, and she replied to the sentence of Spires by the

* Copia Mandati Cæsarei. *Vide* also Guhrauer.

haughtiest disdain and most determined disobedience. Doubly incensed by the revolt of her own subjects, as well as by what she termed the "assumption of power" in the imperial authorities, she at once applied to the Elector, in the name of his, as much as of her own, dignity and interests. She represented to him, with as much ingenuity as energy, what the consequences must be if upon every difference between a Protestant Prince and his vassals the latter could apply to the Catholic authorities for redress, and touching Frederick William upon the very point where he was the most susceptible: most jealous of his power, she naturally, for the moment, carried him with her against the Herford burghers, whom he sharply called to order, and to whom he haughtily signified his displeasure at their conduct to the abbess and to him.

But however ill-disposed the Elector might be towards the Town Council of Herford, the obstinate support afforded the Labadists by Elizabeth was, nevertheless, the cause of all these disagreeable incidents, and her illustrious and august cousin, whatever might be his kind sentiments towards her, could not help feeling that had she had a little more discretion and less mysticism at the service of the first impostor

who chose to profit by it, she would have avoided bringing him into much needless annoyance. Besides this, Frederick William was sorely pressed at this period by political preoccupations. The eve had come of Louis XIV's declaration of war against Holland, and every German State was employed in devising means for its own defence. In the beginning of the year 1672, the Princess Palatine went to Berlin to plead in person the cause of her protégés, but her woman's instinct quickly told her she awoke but small sympathy in her warlike cousin's breast.

Things were in this embarrassing position when the Labadists themselves decided upon giving up the contest and retiring from the field. From the moment of the notification of the imperial sentence, the population of Herford had in vulgar phrase made the town so much "too hot to hold them," that the abbess found it necessary to lodge the community in her own private summer residence, and from this time forth, the life of the Labadists was one of constant turmoil and disquiet. Added to this, the alarm spread wide of a French army marching towards the Rhine, and Labadie began to think that the further north he and his disciples could proceed the safer they should be. The King of Den-

mark had just proclaimed in Altona unlimited liberty of conscience, and towards Altona Labadie turned his eyes as towards the fittest refuge for himself and his "sisterhood." Before Elizabeth left Berlin she received from Mademoiselle de Schürmann the announcement of the departure of the whole troop of sectarians from Herford; and, whatever was her degree of adoration for the "apostle," it is to be surmised that the constant worldly vexations he and his had brought upon her for the last two years contributed considerably to diminish the excessive poignancy of regret the abbess would have felt at his loss had it happened earlier. As it was, everything was for the best. The Labadists went forth chanting the praises of the Princess Palatine, and the latter could satisfy her pride by haughtily declaring that she had bent to neither king nor kaiser, but had treated with the same disdain the imperial power and her own rebellious subjects; and that, as to those she protected, they had voluntarily left the home she maintained for them to the last. As far as actual facts go, it might be exact to say that the Labadists had departed voluntarily, but, upon the authority of Mademoiselle de Schürmann's own writings, the departure should at least be called a retreat. They felt that they could not

by any possibility stand their ground beyond a very short time longer, and, accordingly, they took the wise resolve of seeming willingly to leave a place on whose inhabitants they showered invectives as they went.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ELIZABETH CHARLOTTE OF ORLEANS' OPINION OF THE ABBESS OF HERFORD—FAMILY LIKENESSES—THE PRINCELY VISITORS AT HERFORD—THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA OF HANOVER AND THE SUPERINTENDENT OF OSNABRUCK—SOPHIA'S CLEVERNESS AND WIT—ARRIVAL OF THE ELECTORAL PRINCE CHARLES—PAUL HACKENBERG—THE LATTER'S DESCRIPTION OF THE VISIT—LABADIE ATTACKED—VISIT TO HIM AND TO ANNA SCHURMANN—THE BREAKFAST AT THE ABBEY—DISCUSSION—SCHEUTER AND THE PROFESSORS—THE PRINCE'S REQUEST FOR A SERMON—ADJOURNMENT TO LABADIE'S OWN HOUSE—THE CONGREGATION—BEAUTY OF THE WOMEN—THE SERMON—COMPLIMENTS TO THE ELECTORAL PRINCE—EMOTIONS OF THE "DISCIPLES"—REMARKS ON RETURNING TO DINNER AT THE ABBEY—HYPOCHONDRIASIS—SCHWALBACH OR PYRMONT—INDIGNATION OF THE PRINCESS PALATINE—OBSERVATION OF THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA—JAMES I'S GRANDDAUGHTER.

"I GROW so dreamy (rêveux) in my old age that I fancy I may become as dreamy as my aunt, Princess Elizabeth of Herford, who was in infancy in her latter years," writes Elizabeth Charlotte of Orleans, the daughter of the Elector Charles Louis; and in these words, perhaps, lies the only real appreciation possible

of the abbess's conduct. Of a constitution naturally delicate, and eminently inclined to be what our neighbours call *impressionnable,* the Princess Palatine, when came the desire for spiritual consolation, fell, as we have seen, into the snares of the first impostor who presented himself, and adored there, where the simplest elements of Christianity (whether Protestant or Catholic) should have taught her to condemn. Her niece's opinion is the true one; the Princess Elizabeth had sunk into a dreamy, unsettled state of mind, when scarcely beyond the meridian of life; and we may seek in vain, in the Abbess of Herford, for the high-soaring, bright intelligence that shone so serenely over the Courts of Berlin and Heidelberg, and made the Hague a spot whither, from all European countries, tended the pilgrims of intellect. The friend of Descartes, the "Wonder of the North," is no more, and there remains, instead, a mystical, weak-witted, self-willed matron, equally wanting the calm, proud dignity that accompanies self-conscious intelligence of the highest order, and the mild, assured serenity which is the result of religious conviction alone.

It is curious to observe how often those who in youth have shown but comparatively slight marks of resemblance to their parents, exhibit

in maturer age, all the points of what are termed "family likènesses." It is, however, generally, not by their qualities, but by their common defects, that such resemblances are recognised; and thus it was with the Princess Palatine: whilst from her father she unmistakably borrowed a moral indecision, of which she had hitherto never manifested any sign, she took from her mother much of that restless, querulous pride, which (as is often the case with far-famed beauties) rendered Elizabeth Stuart's old age so different from what royal old age should be.

In her own family (that is, in what remained of it), it would seem that the idea entertained of the Abbess of Herford was very much what we have attempted to convey; and the wittiest of her sisters, Sophia of Hanover, notwithstanding the sincere love she bore to Elizabeth, does not appear to have spared her comments and sarcasms, even upon whatever struck her as absurd.

The very scandal attendant upon Labadie's name, on the one hand, and, on the other, the fame of his holiness spread abroad by his disciples, attracted numbers of the surrounding princes and their families, who came, self-invited, to visit the Abbess of Herford, and —if the truth must be told—amuse themselves

a little at her expense, and at that of her extraordinary guests.

The Electress of Hanover was among the Princess Palatine's most frequent visitors at Herford, and on one occasion she brought with her the Superintendent of Osnabrück, in order that he might carry on a theological war with Labadie,* much to the displeasure of her more serious sister.

The character of the Electress Sophia is one of the most charming of her age. Highly intellectual, as is proverbially known, she never grew pedantic—perhaps her beauty saved her therefrom — but preserved to the last that sunny cheerfulness, that *enjouement*, which rendered her so irresistible, and that vein of sharp though graceful wit, of pleasant irony, so peculiar to her ancestress Mary Stuart, and which she alone, of all the fair and unfortunate Scotch queen's descendants, ever inherited. Sorely did she torment and plague her austere sister, and unremittingly did she try, by her playful attacks (which the abbess held for no less than impious), to turn her from the dark and bewildering maze into which she was entering.

* The source whence these details are derived is to be found in Paul Hackenberg's own letters, preserved in the Library of Bremen.

Soon after the period when Sophia thought proper to arrive at Herford with the disputant above mentioned, Elizabeth, to her joy (and relief, as she fondly hoped), welcomed her young nephew, the Electoral Prince Charles, only son of Charles Louis the Palatine, who, with his tutor, Paul Hackenberg, was commencing a tour of foreign Courts. There was, however, not much to be glad of (in the abbess's sense), as we shall see by-and-bye, for the youthful prince and his suite brought rather a reinforcement to the gay Electress than to the austere Princess Palatine. Prince Charles's tutor, Paul Hackenberg, the wittiest and most worldly, if not the most profound, of historians and savans, has left the following description of this visit to Herford, which we can do no better than simply translate :—

"Scarcely were we arrived, than the fame and fate of this new apostle excited our curiosity, and drove us to inquire minutely into all his doings, and to find out by what means this relentless contemner of Christian morals and manners contrived to enchain his disciples to his will, and in reality transform them into his tools. At table, all these and other questions were put by the Princess Sophia, and Labadie's life was pretty freely handled amongst us; so much so, that the Princess Elizabeth stopped our chatter,

and declared that we were grievously unjust towards the holiest of men. When we objected that in Orange, Geneva, Middelburg, wherever, in short, he had been, Labadie had, by his strange preachings, set the town by the ears, and the State in a blaze, the abbess replied—that those were the inventions of wicked men, who by shameless lies tried to destroy the reputation of the best and most peaceful citizen that ever breathed. When we retorted that he had attempted to sow dissension in our Church, and had basely flown from the Church of Holland, she affirmed the statement to be wholly inexact; that he had never tried to disturb the peace of our Church, nor ever departed from her doctrines; that he had been calumniated by bad people, and that envy had everywhere pursued him, forcing him to fly, and with his followers, seek for some refuge where he could in safety devote himself to the service of the Lord. When she was asked, however, on what authority and with whose permission this most ambitious of all men had founded a new church and sect, she boldly answered,—she it was who had invited this man, with his heavenly and divine attendants (himmlischen und göttlichen Schaar) to come hither from Holland; that she had episcopal rights, and possessed the power of authorizing similar associations, and, if she chose,

dissolving them. In such like talk we brought the first evening to a close.

" Next morning, as soon as we were dressed, we all marched off to Labadie's abode. On the threshold almost we stumbled on Mademoiselle Schürmann, in marvellous strange habiliments. She greeted the intruders with but indifferent courtesy. We were led to her room, nevertheless, where many beauties attracted our notice. Paintings done by the erudite virgin herself, and which rivalled Nature; statues in wood and wax, extraordinary from their expression, and commanding our wondering admiration. Meanwhile, there glided slowly into the chamber an old man, with a busy and preoccupied air, not good-looking or imposing, but seemingly taken up with I-know-not-what pious speculations; in short, one of those mortals (one saw it at a glance) who believes himself raised above the earth, and admitted into the intimacy of the Lord. This personage welcomed most flatteringly our young prince, making him a speech upon his aunt Elizabeth's piety, and the services the Electors Palatine had rendered to religion; therefrom he branched off, and philosophized much upon Divine love, original sin, and human ignorance. Needless to say, this man was Labadie. He is already recognized; and I must confess all eyes were fixed upon him, and

each one listened as though he had been the Delphian Oracle. But all at once our Hanoverian superintendent took up the question of earthly love,—the great and most dangerous tempter of our soul; and hereupon the two went at it, disputing for more than an hour, without, as I think, going any deeper than mere words. Elizabeth, at last, got so tired of the noise, that she put an end to it by bidding both the wranglers come to breakfast with her.

"Here things got worse, and words ran high. Labadie was accused of forbidding women to adorn themselves, and of depriving them, by a ridiculous and ill-timed severity, of jewels and all other harmless appurtenances of the toilet. He was told that the poor wretched little souls, —already disposed to err, and even to fall,— were by his doctrines, and by the narrow, timid, quaking principles of piety he instilled into them, utterly bewildered, and made incapable of discerning right from wrong. In the early Church matters were otherwise; whereas now, under the most tattered garments, there often beat a heart full of pride and ambition. Besides this, he tries to persuade people there were no indifferent actions, but that everything was crime, sin in the highest degree,—a creed against which common sense revolted; and what audacity, too, was that which would condemn

to hell-fire and punishment eternal whoever did not swell his [Labadie's] train! as though Our Saviour had become so poor already, that his universal Church was to be found only in a certain little habitation in Herford! No one either was to approach the holy communion table without the special permission of this *Dispensator cœli!* Whether he now, and his followers, really believed themselves free from all taint of sin? Whether it were not the height of impious daring, as well as of absurdity, all at once, self-authorized, to set up for regenerate—for a kind of Holy Ghost in person—whilst the inclination of human nature towards sin might at every hour be hiding thoughts the most reprehensible and atrocious, under the most perfect outward mask of piety! He was told he attributed to himself what were the privileges of the Almighty alone, and that it was scandalous for weak men to set themselves up as judges, in matters where they were unassisted by aught save their own eyes and reason,—both subject to every delusion that should happen to strike them! . . . .

"To these and such like accusations, Labadie, with his acolytes, Yvon and Schluter, replied with a tremendous flow of words. The only sense I could divine, however, was always this:—the world must be left, in order to follow the

Lord; believers must take good care to avoid all contact with the unbelieving, lest their purity should be sullied; no Christian was he who had any ambition, or who allowed himself to be troubled about things merely concerning this life; no proper spiritual love was that which did not keep us always united to the Lord, &c. Schluter added to other arguments, that he had passed three years in the Palatinate, in order to prosecute his studies and gain wisdom; but Heaven should annihilate him, quoth he, if he had found there one professor or one pastor who was a pious man!—either, he affirmed, they were slaves of ambition or avarice, or they were given up to drinking, not to mention other sins!

"In the midst of our shouts of laughter at this sally, the Prince interrupted us, and challenged Labadie to get together his congregation, and give us a regular sermon, for his Electoral Grace was pleased to say 'He should like to judge of his eloquence in the pulpit.' So forth we repaired to Labadie's own house, and quickly the congregation assembled—women and young girls, a goodly lot—the prettiest little dolls imaginable! Then came a collection of tailors, boatmen, and furriers, covered with dirt; for it is to be remarked, that amongst this brilliant circle of women, not one well-dressed or appa-

rently respectable man was to be seen. After seats had been procured in all haste, a psalm was sung; then the 6th verse, 24th chapter of Matthew, was read; and the arch-juggler, in a long and sickeningly-declamatory discourse, propounded that no one was to be called a Christian about whom yet lingered any of the impurities of the world, or who felt any other love than that which the Holy Ghost inspired in regenerated souls. At the close of his speech, he said he addressed himself to the Prince whose inheritance was the palatinal electorate, and whose ancestors had suffered every penalty for the sake of religion—been chased from their country and robbed of their possessions,—but in the end restored to all by the hand of the Almighty, in order that they might better protect the Church against impending danger. Meanwhile, he expressed his wish that the present Prince, whose pleasing features announced his exalted origin, should become a true Christian and an ornament of the Church. Whatever might be the earthly fame and glory to which other princes should aspire; whatever the prosperity they should dream of as the height of their desires, he hoped and trusted that the palatinal house would found its claims to renown upon its attachment to religion,—upon its simplicity and the purity of its morals; and his firm reliance was, that

the future representative of the above-mentioned illustrious race would grow old in the service and contemplation of God, despising the honours that other mortals adored, and partaking in no way of their idle vanities, and love of empty pomp.

"Whilst he delivered all this with a loud voice and the affectation of holy inspiration, the most devout attention reigned throughout the assembly; some raised their eyes to Heaven, some smote their breasts and groaned, and some soft-hearted maidens dissolved in tears. As to us, we all came home crammed full of wonderment. During dinner, we talked of nothing else but of this absurd and quaking sort of piety to which people are sometimes brought; and our astonishment could scarcely find words when alluding to the number of young women of the best families, richly-dowered, brilliant with beauty and youth, who were insane enough to give up the conduct of their souls to this worst of men and most powerless of priests (only to be laughed at too by him in secret), and who were so rivetted to their delusions that neither the prayers of their parents, nor the pleadings of their betrothed, nor the prospect of maternal joys, could tear them away! Some amongst us said they were assuredly hypochondriacs and unanswerable for whatever they might do;

others opined that they should all be sent to the baths of Schwalbach or Pyrmont, and that probably they would come back cured! All these remarks and discussions made the Princess Elizabeth highly indignant, and she exclaimed against the wickedness which could induce any one to ascribe to bodily infirmity a greater degree of piety wherewith the Holy Ghost chose to inspire a certain number of individuals purer than the rest! But to this the Electress Sophia, a lady of extraordinary cleverness, found an answer which turned all bitterness into general mirth, by asserting, with mock gravity, that her sister's sole reason for holding to the Labadists was that they were stingy housekeepers, and cost little or nothing to keep!"

In relating this anecdote, which closes his epistle, "the accusation was a true one," says Hackenberg; and in a grandchild of James I, we can scarcely be surprised at the defect so playfully pointed out by Sophia of Hanover.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ADDRESS OF THE HERFORD BURGHERS TO THE GREAT ELECTOR—FEARS OF THE FRENCH ARMIES—PRINCE DE CONDE—LABADIE'S DEATH IN 1674—ANNA SCHURMANN'S DEATH—QUAKERS' FIRST VISIT TO HOLLAND—EMBASSY OF QUAKERESSES TO THE PRINCESS PALATINE—FOX'S LETTER TO HER—ELIZABETH'S AFFABILITY—HER ANSWER TO FOX—WILLIAM PENN—HIS EPISTLE TO THE ABBESS—THE COUNTESS VAN HORN—ELIZABETH'S REPLY TO PENN—JOURNEY OF THE QUAKERS TO HOLLAND AND GERMANY—VISIT TO HERFORD—PENN'S OWN DESCRIPTION OF THEIR THREE DAYS' STAY WITH THE PRINCESS PALATINE.

THE Labadists left Herford at the end of June, 1672, and scarcely were they gone when the burghers hastened to address to the Great Elector their most ardent wishes for his success in the ensuing campaign, and, after a considerable deal of talking, they sought to excuse themselves for what had occurred between the Town Council and the Abbess, saying that if the Princess was just she must necessarily recognize that whatever had happened was the fault of the Labadists, not theirs. Out of respect for the Electoral authority, protested

they, they would consent to the discharge of the costs resulting from the action brought before the Imperial Tribunal at Spires, but upon the express condition that no Labadist ever was allowed to return to Herford. They ended their address with the expression of a hope that, in case of need, the Elector would be able to secure them against invasion, alluding thereby to a vague sort of threat attributed to the Princess Palatine, who, it was reported, had said the Elector would be unable to protect the town against the French armies, but that she, through the Prince de Condé and her other relations, could do so.

Two years after leaving Herford, in the spring of the year 1674, Labadie departed this life, at the age of 64, and was followed in May, 1676, by Mademoiselle de Schürmann. In this same year, 1676, a second attempt was made by Penn and Fox, who were visiting Holland, to unite with the remnant of the Labadists, now fixed near Leeuwarden under the guidance of Yvon. Their success was no better than during the lifetime of Labadie, but it was here that the recital of all the Abbess of Herford had done for the community inspired William Penn with the strong desire to make her personal acquaintance, and laid the first foundation for the lasting friendship which was destined, till the Princess

Palatine's death, to exist between these two. Rumours of Elizabeth's piety, and of her reception of Labadie, had already reached the Quakers in England, and given them hopes of some echo being found for their doctrines in Germany. The wife of Keith, Fox's stepdaughter, and a Dutch Quakeress, undertook to pay a visit to Elizabeth, and, being provided with a letter of introduction from Fox, who presumed the Princess must know him by repute, presented themselves one day at the Abbey gates. It is affirmed that Fox, in this epistle, departed entirely from his usual principles of Republican rudeness, in virtue of which he deemed it necessary to confound peer and peasant, and render his expressions harsh and coarse, exactly in proportion as the rank of the person he addressed was elevated ;* his letter to the princess seems, on the contrary, to have been full of compliments and felicitations upon her virtues and her piety, and of previsions of all she might do for the "true Church of Christ," of which this time the Quakers were to be the only representatives.

As soon as the Quakeresses arrived at the little Court of Herford, and entreated an audience of the abbess, they were admitted,

* Vide Guhrauer.

and received by her with all the affability and kindness possible. To do Elizabeth justice, whatever defects she might gain with increasing age, she was ever mindful to avoid voluntarily diminishing any one in his own opinion, and careless of the advantages of her own rank. Her personal humility was a genuine sentiment, and upon no occasion was she ever known to refuse access even to the lowest and most abject of those who might seek her presence. Fox's step-daughter, a handsome young woman, with a remarkably sweet voice, appears especially to have pleased her; but, notwithstanding this, she returned but vague answers to her visitors' questions. Nor was the following letter, which she wrote in answer to Fox's communication, much more definite in its sense :—

"Dear friend,

"I must always love and esteem those sincerely who love our Lord Jesus, and to whom, besides the grace to believe, is vouchsafed the grace to serve Him. For this reason, your letter and the visit of your friends were both most agreeable to me, and I will try, whilst God gives me life and health, to follow the advice received from both.

"Meanwhile, I remain, your affectionate friend, "ELIZABETH."

What Fox could not altogether accomplish was destined to be fulfilled by a greater than he, by the man whom the most famous English historian of modern times* calls "rather a mythical than a historical person," by William Penn. This extraordinary individual was just in the very midst of the preoccupations caused him by his approaching mission to North America, when the condition of his brethren on the nearer continent of Europe struck him so forcibly as to make him resolve upon a preliminary journey to Holland and Germany.

Before undertaking it, however, he wrote a long letter to the Princess Palatine, with whom he had as yet held no communication, full of praise, addressed not only to herself, but also to a Canoness of her Chapter, Countess Anna Maria van Horn, Elizabeth's favourite attendant, full, at the same time, of spiritual consolations, and of exhortations to continue on the path to which Providence had already guided them. This letter appears to have pleased the Abbess of Herford, for her answer is a most cordial one:—

"The present, my friend," writes Elizabeth to Penn, "will inform you that I have received

* Macaulay.

your two letters, and your good wishes that I may attain to those virtues which shall enable me to follow in the blessed steps of our Lord and Saviour. What I did for his true disciples weighs not so much as a glass of water, for, alas! it helped them not. Neither did I hope any good from my letter to the Duchess of L——,* as I remarked at the time to Benjamin Furley; but as Robert Barclay wished me to write, I could not refuse, nor leave undone one single thing that he deemed likely to further his freedom, although the doing of it should expose me to the mockeries of the whole world. But this, after all, goes no further than a certain social propriety—the real inward grace is yet wanting in your most affectionate friend,

"ELIZABETH."

It was not till the year 1677 that Penn put in execution his plan of visiting the Continent. At that period† he undertook a journey to Holland and Germany, in company with Fox, Barclay, and a whole train of Quakers. In Rotterdam, Leyden, Amsterdam, and other Dutch cities, meetings were held, the results

* Sophia, who is here alluded to under her title of Duchess of Luneburg.

† Penn had, as we know, once before visited Holland in the year 1771, whilst the Labadists were still at Herford.

of which were highly satisfactory to the travellers; indeed, in Amsterdam so much "good work" seemed to present itself to them, that Fox stayed behind to do it, whilst his companions wandered on towards Germany. Penn and Barclay came together to Herford, and, during three days, partook of the Princess Palatine's hospitality. Penn has, in his own journal, left a record of this visit, which we can do no better than transcribe. (It is to be observed, that, throughout, he speaks of himself and of his followers in the third person.)

"The next morning [after their arrival], at seven o'clock, they went to the apartment of the princess, and were received by her and by the Countess Horn with such extraordinary amiability that they were deeply touched by it. This behaviour, in persons of such a high station, strengthened their hope that the day of the restoration of Christ's church was drawing near. Penn, full of this feeling, was moved to preach to them. His brothers followed his example, so that this visit became, in fact, a meeting, and lasted till eleven o'clock. On taking leave they were bidden to dinner, but excused themselves. In the afternoon they returned to the palace, where not only the Princess and Countess of Horn, but several other persons, waited to receive them." A religious meeting

was now held, according to the custom of the Quakers. "Here it was," observes Penn, "that the Lord began to reveal his presence. The auditors were deeply moved, as they afterwards avowed, nor were the preachers less so, and when the meeting was ended [it lasted till seven in the evening] they returned home full of gratitude for the consolations granted to them during that day.

"The next day was one on which the princess was used to receive offerings and petitions, and therefore she could give no audience until nine o'clock. Then, a meeting was held, at which all the household of the abbess had orders to attend. In the afternoon the Quakers again returned; during this visit William Penn fulfilled a promise he had made in the morning; namely, to give a history of his own conversion, and to describe, by the same occasion, all the persecutions he had endured for his faith, and the comforts that faith had afforded him. He began—but, before he could finish, supper was announced. All adjourned together to another room. Two persons were present here whom the Quakers had not yet seen—Countess Horn's sister and a French lady. After supper they returned to the other room once more; Penn took up the thread of his discourse, and carried it to the end. At eleven o'clock at night

they retired, and sought the way to their own abode.

"On the third day they were as before assembled for the purpose of worship, but this time not only the servants were present, but also a certain number of townspeople. This meeting began by much and fervent praying to God to let His name be glorified on this day, and he vouchsafed so to do with such mighty power and strength, that he awoke their slumbering consciences who were there gathered together, and His word sounded like a trumpet in their ears. Yes! they were moved, and the thought of Jesus reached their hearts! Even as the meeting began, so did it continue, and so did it end. Great as was the emotion of the preachers and of their listeners, also in none was it greater than in the Princess Elizabeth, who was so moved that when after the meeting she went to bid farewell to Penn, she could find no words to convey her feelings. She only said, 'Will you not come back to us? I entreat you, let your home-journey from Germany lead you again hitherwards.' Penn replied, 'We follow the commands of the Lord, and depend upon him so entirely that we can promise nothing.' Thereupon they took their leave and departed from Herford."

CHAPTER XXV.

PENN'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH ELIZABETH—HIS SECOND VISIT TO HERFORD—THE ABBESS'S PARTING WORDS TO HIM—A LETTER FROM THE PRINCESS TO PENN — THE COMMISSION SHE GAVE HIM—THE ELECTOR CHARLES LOUIS AND HIS WIVES—HIS DESIRE FOR A DIVORCE—REFUSAL OF CHARLOTTE OF HESSE—REQUEST OF HER SON—ANGER OF ALL THE HESSIAN FAMILY—INTERVENTION OF ELIZABETH—HEDWIGH SOPHIA'S INDIGNATION—HER LETTER TO COUNT SCHWERIN—RUPERT—PROPOSALS MADE TO HIM—BRIDES FOUND FOR HIM—HIS VOW—FAILURE OF PENN'S NEGOTIATIONS—LATTER YEARS OF ELIZABETH'S LIFE — HER FRIENDSHIP WITH LEIBNITZ AND MALEBRANCHE—HER HUMILITY—WAS SHE A CHRISTIAN?—THE QUESTION OF RELIGIOUS FORMS—RISE OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER—PRAISE OF ERNEST AUGUSTUS AND SOPHIA—THE DESTINIES OF THE GUELPH-STUART RACE—DEATH OF THE PRINCESS PALATINE—HER CHARACTER—HOW SHE WAS LOVED AND REGRETTED — HER SIMPLICITY — PENN'S PORTRAIT OF HER—HER MORAL EXCELLENCE—"INVICTA IN OMNI FORTUNA."

BETWEEN his first and second visit to Herford, Penn remained in correspondence with the Princess Palatine, for we find a letter of hers addressed to him, in answer to one he had written to her from a village near Worms, after failing in his desire to meet her brother, the

Elector Charles Louis, at Mannheim.—"My dearest friend," writes Elizabeth, "I have received with the utmost joy your letter full of affection, good wishes, and advice, which last I will assuredly follow, if God will but give me sense and strength enough therefore. What I can tell you of myself is but little, for alone I am capable of nothing, but I hope the Lord will in His own time and in His own way make use of me for His own ends, and in that case I feel I could brave the stake. I await His coming with longing, and hope that when my path lies clear before me, I may have force to bear the cross which I shall find thereon. I rejoice that your journey has fallen out so happily, and that the bad weather has not stood in your way; and even so much pleasure have I in hearing of your welcome in Cassel, Frankfort, and Gneisheim. Nothing impresses me more than what you say of our dear good old friend Dury, from whom I the less expected such sincere goodwill towards you, as in his lately published book 'The true Christian,' he holds quite a different language. I long to hear of your reception in Freidrichsburg, and should this letter reach Cleves soon enough to be given into your hands there, I should be glad if you contrived to see the two pastors of Mühlheim, who really seek the Lord in all sincerity, albeit they, like the reigning

countess also, are somewhat prejudiced against your doctrines. It would be a great gain for my family* if it were possible to draw them out of their error. But the Lord's will be done, in this as in all that concerns your sincere friend in Christ, "ELIZABETH."

After Penn had settled all his affairs in Holland he returned by Emden, where he made a short stay, to Herford for his second visit.

Among the persons with whom he made acquaintance this time at the Princess Palatine's Court was Count Dhoua, between whom and himself profound theological discussions upon the end and aim of Christianity were incessantly occurring. It is needless to remark that the meetings were held as heretofore, and Elizabeth seems to have been so touched by Penn's discourses, that on one occasion she said:—"I am fully convinced, but, alas! my sins are too great!"†

The missionary's visit was a short one, and the farewell bidden to him by his royal friend was, although neither knew it, for eternity. "I cannot forget her last words," says Penn, in a

* One really feels at some loss to recognize the "great gain" that was to be reaped for the Palatine family by the fact of any of its members becoming converts to Quakerism!

† *Vide* Marsillac, and also Guhrauer.

chapter consecrated to the Princess Palatine, "they were, 'Remember me though I live so far away from you, and shall never see you more. I thank you for these few happy days, and know and am certain that although I am by position exposed to many temptations, my soul feels a strong desire for what is best." Whilst the Princess bade him adieu, Penn fell upon his knees and implored the blessing of Heaven upon her. He also prayed for the Countess Horn, who begged of him to do so; and then, approaching the "French lady," who has been already mentioned as having supped with him at the abbess's table, with gentle earnestness besought her (she was a Catholic) to remain always true to whatever were her conscientious convictions.

Scarcely had Penn reached London than he found a letter from the Princess Palatine, in answer to one he had written her on his journey homewards. Hers is dated 29 October, 1677, and runs thus:—

"Dear friend,

"I am deeply touched by the interest you take in my eternal welfare, and I will seriously reflect upon every line of your advice to me, and try as much as in me lies to follow your counsels; but God's grace must assist me, for,

as you rightly say, He will only accept that which He has Himself inspired. When I shall have utterly weaned myself from the world, if I yet leave undone what He before all prescribes, namely, to do nothing save for His Son through His Son, I shall be no better than I at this moment am. Above all, I must feel Him sovereign in my heart, and fulfil whatever he commands; but I am really incapable of teaching others, for I am not myself taught by the Lord. Give my best regards to George Fox, Benjamin Furley, George Keith, and my dear Gertrude. So long as you write no worse a hand than in your last letter, I can read you very well. Think not that I mean to go back from what I said to you the evening before your departure; I delay merely until I can act in a way to perform my duty to God and man both. I cannot write you more, but recommend myself to your prayers, and remain your sincere friend,

"ELIZABETH.

"P.S.—I forgot to tell you that my sister [Sophia] had written to me that she would have been very happy if you had passed by Osnabrück on your return from Amsterdam. There is also a certain person from Simburg living not far from here, and to whom I lent a copy of Robert Barclay's "Apology," who would be

very glad of a little conversation with some 'Friends.'"

Whilst Penn was at Briel, in the Island of Vaorne, on the point of sailing from Holland to England, he had written to the Princess Palatine a letter, whereof the following is the chief portion:—

* * * "Hail to the Princess Elizabeth! in the name of the Holy Cross, Amen. Dear and much esteemed friend, my soul wishes ardently for thy temporal and eternal welfare, which can alone be secured by doing now upon the earth God's will as He would have it done in Heaven. I cannot leave this country without expressing the gratitude I nourish in my heart for the condescending and gracious welcome I met with at thy court. The Lord Jesus reward thee! Of a surety he keeps some blessing in store for thee; persist, be stanch, conquer, and thou wilt win. . . . . I will execute thy commission* with all diligence and all possible discretion, and give thee notice thereof in my earliest letters, if the Lord be pleased to let me reach London in safety. All my brethren are well, and offer their best homage to thee,

* "This "commission" is explained in the following pages.

To

and all those of thy house who with thee love the Lord Jesus, the light of the world. Thou hast taught me to forget thy princely rank, and therefore do I take advantage of the freedom thou allowest me. Greet the countess for me, and present her my sincere regards if she be pleased to accept them. Dear Princess! do not oppose her wishes, but, on the contrary, help her. It may be that God asketh that from her, which, owing to thy standing in the world, He doth not yet require from thee. Leave her at liberty; perhaps her freedom may pave the way to thine own. Receive, I entreat, whatever I say unto thee, in that spirit of love and simplicity which inspires me when I address thee in writing.

"P.S.—I crave thy attention to certain parts of the letter I send enclosed. We have visited Gichsel and Hoffman, and they have returned our visit. They were also present at one or two of our meetings in Amsterdam. Vale in æternum."

The answer to this letter is dated on the 16th November, 1677:—

"Dear friend," writes Elizabeth, "I have received the letter which you wrote me, as

it seems, at the very moment of starting for England. May your journey be a happy one! Your letter is without date, but it is not without the virtue to encourage me and teach me to do and suffer the will of God. I can with all truth and sincerity say: Thy will be done, O Lord! for I really wish it were so, but I cannot yet say with entire truth that I possess that entire devotion which is agreeable in His sight. My house and heart are ever open to those who love Him. Gichsel was delighted with the conferences you had together. As to my affair [the "commission" alluded to by Penn], it will be brought to a lucky conclusion if it shall so please God. In His love I remain your affectionate friend,

"ELIZABETH."

It is now time to inform the reader what this "commission" was, with which the Princess Palatine had intrusted her friend Penn, and which, in truth, essentially involved the future destinies of the Palatine house.

In the spring of this same year, 1677, the morganatic wife of the Elector Charles Louis, the Ländgravine Louisa, had died, and the Electoral Prince, being without male heirs, the ancient race was threatened with extinction in its elder branch. This, the Elector sought

to prevent by obtaining the consent of his wife, Charlotte of Hesse, to a regular divorce. In the month of June of this year, the Abbess of Herford met her brother at the baths of Schwalback, and he succeeded in bringing her over to his opinion, and in winning her promise to accept the office of mediatrix between him and his injured wife, then resident at Cassel. But all her attempts were vain. The Electress Charlotte opposed a determined refusal to every demand she received of the kind, and, amongst others, she received one from her own son, Prince Charles, who, seeing that an heir was denied to him, dispatched his tutor, Paul Hackenberg, to his half-widowed mother to entreat her to consent to the Elector's proposal of a divorce. Charlotte, supported therein by her nephew, the reigning Landgraf of Hesse, opposed only anger and contempt to this demand of her son's; but the Princess Palatine was marked out for universal reproach on the part of her family for her share in what the Landgravine Hedwige Sophia denominated "an infamous transaction." It must be remembered that, in the long discussions between Elizabeth and her subjects concerning Labadie, the Landgravine had openly sided with the burghers of Herford, so that, in despite of the former attachment of the two

princesses, there had been for the last few years a comparative coldness in their relationship to each other. This, perhaps, induced Hedwige to exaggerate the interest she felt in her sister-in-law, the Electress; nor was this interest diminished by the fact of her brother, the Great Elector, and her son-in-law, Christian V of Denmark, being both unequivocally hostile to the Elector Charles Louis's plan of a divorce. "The whole proceeding is unjust and infamous," writes Hedwige to Count Schwerin, in letters where she implores him to befriend the Electress Charlotte, and where she loses no opportunity of expressing her disapproval of the Princess Palatine's behaviour. On the other hand, if the conduct of the latter does at first appear somewhat strange, particularly if we reflect that, in former years, she took Charlotte's part against Charles Louis, it must also be said that the extinction of her race was an eventuality to the consequences of which the daughter of Frederick V, and his Stuart consort, were tremblingly alive. She saw all the evils impending in the future over the sorely-tried and barely-recovering Palatinate; and indeed events proved her fears to be well-grounded, for the war with France, in the miseries it entailed, far surpassed even what the Thirty Years' War had taught the unfortunate

Palatinal populations to endure. The Princess Palatine had, for the land of her paternal ancestors, an ardent and rather singular attachment, if we consider that no early associations connected her with it, and that she had only visited it long after the period when other ties would seem to have bound her to other countries. But what is most surprising is, that she should have been the last to think of an expedient which almost simultaneously appears to have occurred to the Courts of Heidelberg, Cassel, and Berlin, — namely, the succession of Rupert to the Electorate. The right of succession was his by inheritance, but he was also unmarried, and the one object upon which immediately all minds became fixed was a suitable marriage for "the mad Prince." Nor was this all, as the end of the transaction showed. Rupert must not only be persuaded to marry, (and that suitably, which was no slight difficulty,) but he must be induced to leave England, and, inhabiting the Palatinate, make acquaintance with the subjects whom his heirs, if not he himself, would be one day called upon to govern. When this plan was communicated to Elizabeth, she eagerly seized upon it as the only thing practicable, accepted once more the office of negotiator, and proposed the Princess Charlotte of Courland as a fitting

bride for her brother. The Landgravine Hedwige Sophia, on the contrary, thought her own niece, the young Princesse de la Tremouille, far more eligible, and said as much. This lady was the daughter of the Prince de Tarente and of the late Landgraf's [of Hesse] sister, and in consequence of the severe measures taken against the Huguenots in France, had been brought up in Germany, whither she had fled with her mother. At the same time, however, the Landgravine did not venture to recommend her protégée to Elizabeth, for, besides the circumstance of her having another fiancée to patronize, "the Princess Palatine," writes she to Count Schwerin, "is little inclined to favour the members of the Hessian House, and would probably do more against than for any project of theirs." Another recurrence of the incurable animosity entailed by the Labadist quarrel!

But all plans, projects, and negotiations were but so many contrivances wasted, for the arts and wiles of all the diplomatists in the universe (and the one chosen by Elizabeth was but a very plain and straightforward one,) would have failed in gaining Rupert's consent to the combination which depended upon him alone. The "mad Prince" would not marry, neither would he go to live at Heidelberg; and no considerations that could be urged upon him could shake

in the least his resolution. Elizabeth Stuart's knight-errant son was far more of an Englishman than a German, in the first place, and cared marvellously little what became of the Palatinal population, and whether his branch of the Withelsbach race died out or not; and, in the next, he was mindful unto death of the Elector's unbrotherly conduct towards him some twenty years back, and upon this occasion recalled to Charles Louis's memory a vow he [Rupert] had then made, and was determined to keep, of never, while he lived, setting foot in the Palatinate again.

To bring Rupert to espouse a genuine *bonâ fide* princess; to lead him to exchange London for the banks of the Rhine; to induce him to forswear himself, and forget the oath his wounded pride and vengeful spirit had registered; this was the "commission" intrusted by Elizabeth to William Penn; this the negotiation which he undertook, and wherein, as might have been foreseen, he failed.

If we except this disappointment with regard to her brother Rupert, the closing years of Elizabeth's life may be said to have been upon the whole serene, if not happy. The love of literature and the arts, and in general of every intellectual occupation, endured with her to the last; and the chapter-library was there, until

the secularisation of the abbey, to attest the various and widely-diffused knowledge, taste, and scientific zeal of the abbess. Almost in the very last days of her life, she became the friend and correspondent of the two most eminent men who had shone in the annals of philosophy since Descartes,—of Leibnitz and Malebranche. With the first, who was attached to Duke John of Hanover since 1676, and of whom the Electress Sophia was the firm and constant friend, the acquaintance of the Princess Palatine was almost inevitable; with Malebranche, what attracted her was the mystical tone of his doctrines, and the ruling principle he laid down, that "The soul must judge all things according to its own inward light, to the exclusion of all outward impressions produced by the mere senses, and of all illusions of the imagination. Thus," adds Malebranche, "when exposed to this one great test,—the light of truth,—will all human science be judged as void and vain, and only that knowledge be prized which teaches us what we are." The vanity of all science!—there was the doctrine by which this most learned princess—this sometime exclusive votary of science, was invariably captivated, nor is this the fact least to her credit. She had Christian aspirations strong enough to make her acknowledge the nothingness of human

science, the insignificance of that intellectual wealth which a life may have been spent in attaining; and herein the real elevation of her original nature showed itself to the end. She was led by her enthusiasm and by her humility, nearly to worship both Labadie and Penn, whilst she became in fact neither a Labadist nor a Quaker; but was she a true and genuine Christian? This is a question we think those who have studied her the nearest might find some difficulty in solving. Had the Princess Palatine lived in our days, it would have gone hard with her or she would have been one of the heads of the Transcendental school, and have enrolled herself under the banner of Kant and Fichte. Pure, genuine, orthodox Christianity, without regard to the divisions of Catholic and Protestant, we take to have been as little adopted in fact by Elizabeth, as either Quakerism, Methodism, or any other religious form.

If the grief of the Princess Palatine was great at the dark future she anticipated for her father's ancient race, on the other hand she saw the first glimmering of light dawn over the house of Hanover, so soon to be called to one of the greatest thrones of the world, in virtue of its descent from Elizabeth Stuart.

At the end of the year 1679, John Frederick of Hanover, who had married his cousin, a

daughter of the Prince Palatine Edward, died without issue, and the husband of Sophia, Ernest Augustus, "the first Elector," as he is proverbially called, succeeded him, and became the head of his House. A German historian,* speaking of "the first Elector" and his consort, says:—"Through the complicated events of their troublous times, this princely pair are a sort of landmark whereon to rest the eye, and form a proof of how much good may be done by those who hold an exalted position. We must admire that really German intellectual enthusiasm which made them the friends of Leibnitz,—that systematic firmness which characterized their government, and allied to ceaselessly active efforts for the promotion of public good, that untiring patience and longanimity, so easy to learn in years of discouragement, and generally so easily forgotten when years of greater prosperity are reached." That no praise can be much beyond what was due to Sophia is certain; but there may be some exaggeration in the panegyric above quoted, when applied to a prince whose best title to fame lies, we are inclined to believe, in the good luck that guided him in his choice of a wife.

But a very few months after this change in

the fortunes of the House of Guelph-Stuart (in which no one, as yet, however, saw the forerunner of a fate more glorious still to come), the Princess Palatine closed her earthly career at the age of sixty-two; dying in the abbey she had reigned over thirteen years, on the 11th day of February, 1680.

By those who loved and comprehended her, which all did not who saw her most, Elizabeth was profoundly, sincerely, lastingly regretted. Whatever her defects or her weaknesses, even in later years, there was to the last about the Princess Palatine one persistent charm, fascinating in every station, irresistible when allied to royal birth—simplicity; a charm her eminently-graceful mother wanted, and which, through her sister Sophia, has descended as a priceless heir-loom to nearly all the princesses of her race, centering, as it were, in gentlest brightness, in Her who now represents them on the throne.

Simple—nay, humble, even—Elizabeth ever was; charitable to the suffering; courageous, where those she thought weak were in need of defence; wholly devoid of feminine vanity, and ready at any moment for self-sacrifice of whatsoever kind: these were all supremely attaching qualities; but above all was one inborn in her, and which accompanied her from the cradle to

the grave, the love—that is not enough—the worship of truth. Never, while she lived, did Elizabeth swerve from this beautiful idolatry, or contemplate for a single instant the possession of a single good that was to be purchased at the price of the smallest infidelity to it. Therefore, and from veneration for her exalted moral merits, would we have it clearly understood, that we allude only to the Princess Palatine in an intellectual point of view, when we point out the difference between the brilliant savante of the Hague, and the too easily-imposed-upon Abbess of Herford. Of the Princess Palatine, morally speaking, nothing, we repeat, can be said, save that her few faults were the effect of circumstances, whilst her virtues, all her own, endured unaltered, undiminished, to the end, ceasing only when ceased the gentle life they had embellished and consoled.

Few things more appropriate have been written upon Elizabeth than the following short sketch by William Penn, which we transcribe entire, and with which we terminate this biography of a Princess too little known, but who, rarest of all praises! can with truth be described as

"INVICTA IN OMNI FORTUNA."

"The late blessed Princess Elizabeth, [writes Penn, in his famous work, "No Cross no Crown,"] the Countess Palatine,* as a right, claimeth a memorial in this discourse, her virtue giving greater lustre to her name than her quality, which yet was of the greatest in the German Empire. She chose a single life as freest of care, and best suited to the study and meditation she was always inclined to; and the chiefest diversion she took, next the air, was in some such plain and housewifely entertainment, as knitting, &c. She had a small territory, which she governed so well that she showed herself fit for a greater. She would

* Elizabeth's tomb is in the Abbey Church of Herford, and on it is the following inscription:—

"D. O. M. S.
H. S. E.
Serenissima Princeps, et Antistita Herfordiensis
ELIZABETH
Electoribus Palatinis, et Magnæ Britanniæ Regibus orta
Regii prorsus animi virgo
Invicta in omni fortuna constantia et gravitate
Singulari in rebus gerendis prudentia ac dexteritate
Admirabili eruditione atque doctrina
Supra sexus et ævi conditionem celeberrima
Regum studiis, Principum amicitiis
Doctorum virorum literis et monumentis
Omnium Christianorum gentium linguis et plausibus
Sed maxime propria virtute
Sui nominis immortalitatem adepta."

constantly, every last day in the week, sit in judgment, and hear and determine causes herself; where her patience, justice, and mercy were admirable; frequently remitting her forfeitures where the party was poor, or otherwise meritorious. And, which was excellent, though unusual, she would temper her discourses with religion, and strangely draw unconcerned parties to submission and agreement; exercising not so much the rigor of her power, as the power of her persuasion.

"Her meekness and humility appeared to me extraordinary; she never considered the quality, but the merit of the people she entertained. Did she hear of a retired man, hid from the world, and seeking after the knowledge of a better, she was sure to set him down in the catalogue of her charity. I have casually seen, I believe, fifty tokens sealed and unprescribed to the several poor subjects of her bounty, whose distances would not suffer them to know one another; though they knew her, whom yet some of them had yet never seen. Thus, though she kept no sumptuous table in her own Court, she spread the tables of the poor in their solitary cells, breaking bread to virtuous pilgrims, according to their wants and her ability; abstemious in herself, and in apparel void of all vain ornaments, I must needs say her mind had a

nobler prospect; her eye was to a better and more lasting inheritance than can be found below, which made her often to despise the greatness of courts and learning of the schools, of which she was an extraordinary judge. Being once at Hamburg, a religious person whom she went to see for religion's sake, telling her it was too great an honour for him that he should have a visitant of her quality come under his roof, that was allied to several great kings and princes of this world, she humbly answered, 'If they were godly as well as great, it would be an honour indeed; but, if you know what that greatness was as well as I, you would value less that honour.'

"Being in some agony of spirit, after a religious meeting in her own chamber, she said:—'It is a hard thing to be faithful to what one knows. Oh, the way is straight! I am afraid I am not weighty enough in my spirit to walk in it.' After another meeting, she uttered these words:—'I have records in my library that the Gospel was first brought out of England hither into Germany by the English, and now it is come again.' She once withdrew on purpose to give her servants the liberty of discoursing with us, that they might the more freely put what questions of conscience they desired to be satisfied in, for they were religious; suffering

both them and the poorest of her town to sit by her in her own bed-chamber, where we had two meetings.

"I cannot forget her last words, when I took my leave of her; she said:—'Let me desire you to remember me, though I live at this distance, and though you should never see me more. I thank you for this good wine; and know and be assured, though my condition subjects me to divers temptations, yet my soul hath strong desires after the best things.' She lived her single life till about sixty years of age, and then departed at her own house in Herwerden, which was about two years since, as much lamented as she had lived beloved of the people: To whose real worth I do, with religious gratitude, dedicate this memorial."

THE END.

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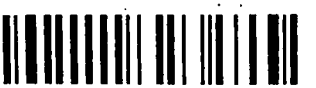
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